

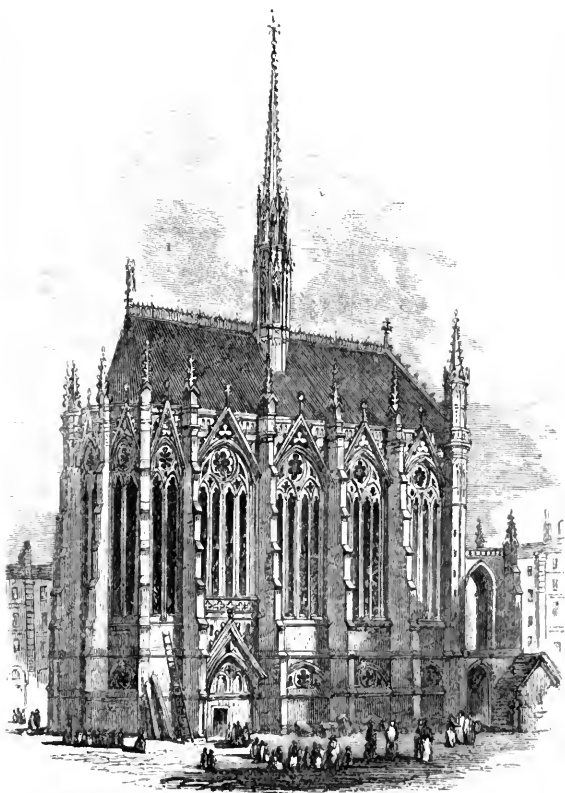
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SAINTE CHAPELLE, AT PARIS.

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*THE GALLICAN CHURCH.*

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SKETCHES

OF

CHURCH HISTORY IN FRANCE.

BY

JULIUS LLOYD, M.A.

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# THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

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## I.—THE CHURCH IN GAUL.

LONG before the birth of Christ, enterprising mariners from Asia had discovered a harbour near the mouths of the Rhone, and had founded a colony on the shores of the narrow gulf which is now encircled by the city of Marseilles. Julius Cæsar describes Massilia as an ancient and famous city in his day. Then, as now, the port was thronged with strangers from many distant lands, among whom were not a few of the Jewish nation. It was natural, therefore, that some of the early Christians should migrate thither, in the dispersion of the inhabitants of Judæa during the war which preceded the fall of Jerusalem. Among those who are named by tradition are Martha and Mary of Bethany, with their brother Lazarus; and Trophimus the Ephesian, whom St. Paul was falsely accused of

bringing into the temple, and who became, it is said, the founder of the Church at Arles. Two saints belonging to the next generation, Pothinus and Irenæus, ascended the Rhone to its junction with the Saone, and founded at Lyons a Church, the rapid growth of which is attested not only by the writings of Irenæus himself, but by the persecution which the Christians of Lyons underwent soon after his coming. The martyrdoms of Lyons and Vienne are among the most notable incidents in the ecclesiastical history of the period.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, about A.D. 177, a succession of calamities troubled the province of Gaul, and excited the minds of the people to a high pitch of superstitious fear. A terrible and wide-spread pestilence, followed by rumours of disastrous battles on the Danube, led men to enquire anxiously how they might appease the offended gods of Rome. A popular clamour arose against the Christians; and the Emperor, humane philosopher as he was, gave his sanction to the general cry. Men and women of all ranks, who were suspected of holding the Christian faith, were put in prison. Slaves were tortured to make them confess that they had been present at impure

and cannibal rites, which the wanton fancy of the Pagans imagined to be practised in secret. Other protracted torments were used to make the Christians recant their profession of faith. A few yielded at first under pain and intimidation ; but the fortitude of the martyrs rose under trial and wore out the malice of their persecutors. One female slave, Byblis, who had been frightened into making a false confession, withdrew her words afterwards, and bravely died a martyr. Another, Blandina, is a memorable example of the power of faith in deadening the sense of pain. Tortures ingeniously varied and extended over fifteen days only made her constancy more triumphant.

Pothinus, the aged bishop of Lyons, was one of those who suffered martyrdom at this time. He was succeeded in his office by Irenæus, who lived to enrich the Church by theological works of enduring value as to primitive doctrine and discipline. To him we owe the information that already in his time four Gospels, and four only, were universally received, and ascribed to the same four Evangelists as now. To him also we owe particulars of the episcopal succession from the Apostles in the churches of Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus.

Persecution served more to strengthen than to weaken the Church, in Gaul as elsewhere. The heathen world enquired with wonder, what could be the nature of that hope, which was proof against the fear of death, and almost proof against the pain of scourges and red hot irons. So the faith of Christ won converts on the ground where the martyrs had suffered, and the Christians in the south of Gaul became a numerous and flourishing body.

A description which has been preserved of Vectius, a nobleman of Gaul, gives a favourable picture of the moral effect of Christianity in the later years of the Empire, after Constantine had taken the Cross for his standard. "The whole household of Vectius," we are told, "imitates the virtues of the master. One sees there industrious servants, obedient labourers, affectionate and happy dependents. Hospitality and sobriety are combined at his table. He often reads the Holy Scriptures, especially at meals. He often recites the Psalms, more often chants them. His deceased wife has left him an only daughter, whom he brings up for the consolation of his widowhood, with more than parental tenderness. Towards his slaves he is gentle and affable, ruling

his house more by persuasion than by command, so that he seems the steward rather than the master of the house."

Such characters, unhappily, were at all times exceptions to the general state of society. The Roman Empire was not ripe for the public recognition of the Christian faith, when Constantine made profession of Christianity. Prudence led him to conciliate a body so zealous and so united as the Christians; and religious fear had some share in his conversion; but his ideas and conduct were half-pagan to the last. Still less were his subjects prepared to embrace Christianity with real conviction. The Christians were a minority, a mere fraction of the inhabitants of the great cities, and a smaller fraction of the rural population. But paganism was so rotten and lifeless that it went down at a touch without a struggle. As soon as Constantine admitted the religion of Christ to toleration, it rose at once to supremacy, in virtue of the superior earnestness of its followers. The heathen altars became cold, the temples deserted, the schools of philosophers empty. And then Christianity became fashionable, an object of interest to the idlers who move on the surface of the social world. The Empress

Helena set the fashion of a search for relics and sacred memorials, which quickly imported into the Christian Church a modified form of idolatry. In the building of places of worship, in the ceremonies and even the titles of the clergy, and still more in the manners of private life, an approximation took place between Christianity and paganism. While the attention of the rulers of the Church was directed to subtle controversies of doctrine, the common elements of Christian life were endangered by too rapid an influx of heathens into the fold of Christ. The leaven of the Gospel required time to work upon so vast a mass. Meanwhile, the moral standard of ordinary members of the Church was perceptibly lowered. The decay of society, which preceded the fall of the Empire, was not arrested nor even greatly retarded by the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the State. The renovating influence of the Church was to be felt more effectually in the conversion of the Barbarians.

Rome fell, gorged with excess of power. Strong government gave security in mis-doing to rulers of every degree. The prestige of invincible strength led to the disuse of arms. Luxury enervated the iron constitution of the Roman race; and at



length the alien mercenaries who fought their battles, took courage and resolved to fight for themselves. Then the discovery of the real weakness of Rome gave a mysterious impulse to the distant tribes of the North, and they began to pour in successive waves of invasion across the Danube and the Alps. As each moved forward, encountering feeble resistance, the others pressed on, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Burgundians, Lombards, like the rush of waters into the space which is left in the sea by the sinking of a great ship.

In the Roman province of Gaul the inhabitants were exposed to the first onset of the invading hosts. Flourishing cities were laid waste in a day, never to rise again, the unwarlike population butchered like sheep. There are remains of amphitheatres at Nîmes, Arles, Fréjus, and Cimiez, where thousands of luxurious spectators used to assemble for amusement in places now thinly inhabited. All that festive life was swept away utterly; and such massive ruins form the only connecting link between two periods of civilization, separated by intervening centuries.

But the northern conquerors, in the full flood-tide of their success, were encountered by hosts from the south, whose arms, drawn from a spiritual

armoury, were more formidable than those which the debilitated Romans wielded. In the solitudes of the Egyptian desert, Antony the hermit had set an example, which was followed by a crowd of imitators in the fourth and following centuries. Men and women, dreading the temptations of the world, or else disgusted by its follies, withdrew into a life of seclusion, where they might enjoy closer fellowship with God. Their flesh mortified by severe self-discipline, their souls filled with images of heaven, the fruit of long years of silent meditation, they were able to bring a tremendous power to bear upon the world they had left, by means of the occasional and intermittent communications which they held with it. The hermits were revered as sacred oracles, and at critical moments the figure of some famous anchorite, appearing in the streets of Alexandria, produced an effect like the apparition of a being from another world, an effect analogous to the appearance of Elijah before Ahab, when he encountered some adverse governor. The same desire to lead a pure and heavenly life which actuated the monks of the East, was felt with scarcely less intensity in the west of Europe, being stimulated by a foreboding of the great

social convulsion that was near at hand, the apparent dissolution of the world in the fall of the Empire. The arms of the barbarians were used in vain against enthusiasts like the early monks. Inured to extreme hardship, these men accounted the miseries of the age in which they lived as a salutary training for their souls. Death itself was a release from the bondage of the flesh, a welcome entrance into everlasting joy. So the conquerors, who scorned the degenerate citizens of the Empire, whom they easily overthrew in battle, learned to respect and then to dread the unarmed monks, who possessed some charm against the fear of death which they could not understand. To the arms of the Goths they opposed successfully a reckless indifference to all that life offers, and an assured sense of Divine support. Thus they acquired an influence, resembling that which the human eye is said to exercise over animals. Although at times the brute is apt to turn fiercely and gore his defenceless master, yet in general he submits to an authority which overawes him, he knows not how. Similarly the kings and chiefs of the northern nations felt themselves to be in the presence of superior beings when they stood face to face with such men. The

courage of the heathen, which drew its power from conscious health and strength and well-trying weapons of war, quailed before the courage of the Christian, which had no visible source or support. And when the ignorant and superstitious heathen, foiled in battle, appealed to the gods of his fathers without success, or when he lay on a sick bed, subdued by ague, and haunted by dim and dreadful phantoms, he yielded himself up to the guidance of the Christian teacher, who looked with absolute faith to the future, and declared to him the mysteries of Heaven and Hell with the certainty of an eye witness.

St. Martin was the earliest and greatest of those who introduced monastic life into Gaul. No saint in Christendom won a reputation more widely popular during the course of many centuries. Innumerable churches are named after him; and he is a favourite subject with artists. They usually represent him on horseback, dividing his cloak to give half to a beggar; who, according to the legend, was afterwards revealed to him in a vision, as no other than Christ Himself.

The son of a military tribune, a heathen, Martin desired as a boy to place himself under Christian

teachers; but he was compelled to serve in the army, and was an officer of cavalry when he met St. Athanasius at Treves, in the year 336. The influence of St. Athanasius, who about this time was exciting the whole Christian world by his life of St. Antony, made a profound impression upon Martin; and at a later period, on his retirement from the army after twenty years' service, he devoted himself to a religious life. He then lived for several years in retirement, partly as a hermit, partly under the direction of Hilary, bishop of Poitiers. At length he was appointed to the episcopate of the diocese of Tours, where he entered at once upon a career of extraordinary activity. He gained boundless authority over his flock, and began with their support a Holy War against paganism. Dismay spread wide among the worshippers of Jupiter, Juno, and the other gods of Rome, when they saw their temples laid in ruins, their images destroyed, their groves levelled with the earth. This conflict was the more serious, inasmuch as Martin, in common with the rest of Christendom in his age, regarded the heathen gods as demons having a real existence, and malignant spiritual power. He believed himself to have undergone in

private a terrible conflict with devils in the form of Jupiter, Venus, and Minerva.

Martin exhibited no less courage in asserting the independence of the Church in relation to the Emperor. He reproved the unseemly obsequiousness of some of his brother bishops. But the noblest and most characteristic trait of his life is the firm stand which he made against religious persecution. He exerted his authority to the utmost at Treves, in opposition to the intolerant Spanish bishops, who invoked the imperial power for the punishment of the Priscillianists. The censures of the Church, he said, were quite sufficient without secular interference. Those censures he used effectively against the clergy who persisted on referring Church questions to secular tribunals. Nor did he withdraw his excommunication, until the Priscillianists were released from imprisonment.

The great monastery of Marmoutier, which was founded by St. Martin on the banks of the Loire, was long distinguished among the religious houses of France. In his days of solitude, before entering upon his work at Tours, he resided for a time on the little island of Gallinaria, not far from Genoa; and other islands on the south

coast of Gaul became soon afterwards the seats of monastic foundations. Heathen writers observed these settlements with instinctive dislike, while St. Ambrose on the contrary describes with sympathising eloquence how the chant of the brethren on their island retreats mingled with the murmur of the waves.

On the smaller of the two islands of Lérins, a monastery was founded by St. Honoratus, a name less illustrious than that of St. Martin, yet associated with religious influences not less extensive. Honoratus and his brother undertook a journey from Gaul to Egypt, resolving to dedicate themselves to an ascetic life. On the way, in passing through Greece, the brother died, and Honoratus returned to Gaul about A.D. 400. He took refuge at first in a cave on the sea-shore near Fréjus, but was soon compelled to seek a less accessible spot. For at that time the desire of holiness was a passion which consumed the hearts of men as well as women. A presage of the approaching catastrophe weighed upon their minds. The shadow of death rested already on the Roman Empire. Any voice which spoke of the vanity of the world found an echo in the consciousness of many hearts; and the

hope of a better life excited an enthusiasm which was contagious. To escape the impending evils of the time, and the self-reproach of sin, was not only a wish, but an insatiable craving. Hence it came that men like Honoratus, who were supposed to have attained some proficiency in the practice of holy living, were beset by eager disciples, and became objects of a popularity which defeated its own purpose. He removed to Lérins, an island deemed unfit for habitation, being without fresh water and infested by poisonous serpents. Legends relate that on his landing there a fresh spring of water flowed, and the serpents ceased to be noxious. He was soon followed by disciples, but the difficulty of access limited the number to congenial and devoted brethren.

Lérins became illustrious as a school of theology; and the monks were called from their cells to fill the episcopal sees of the neighbourhood. Honoratus himself was made bishop of Arles, and was succeeded in that diocese by his disciple Hilary. Lupus, another monk of Lérins, was chosen at the Council of Arles in 428, to accompany Germanus of Auxerre on a mission into Britain, to suppress the rising heresy of Pelagius. Lupus was afterwards bishop of Troyes,



and in that office he dared to admonish the terrible Attila. Advancing at the head of his clergy in solemn procession, preceded by the cross, he enquired, "Who art thou, who subduest nations, kings, and cities?" "I am the King of the Huns, the scourge of God," was Attila's reply. "Remember thou scourge, the hand in which thou art held," was the Bishop's intrepid rejoinder.

The austere virtues of St. Lupus have been contrasted with the more genial and practical character of his fellow-monk, St. Hilary of Arles. Hilary kept open house among his people, and arbitrated in their quarrels. His constant industry left no moment unemployed. He was in the habit of using his hands for knitting, which he did with admirable skill and quickness, while he conversed. He had also a considerable inventive skill in mechanics, and assisted his people by devising means for drying salt. Towards the close of Hilary's life he had the misfortune to come into conflict with Pope Leo on a question of jurisdiction. Two bishops whom Hilary had deposed, apparently with some haste, appealed to Rome, and in the dispute which followed we have the first germ of a contention often renewed later

between the claims of Papal supremacy and of Gallican independence. Hilary submitted to be overruled in this case, in which he seems to have been in the wrong; but he asserted his dignity as a provincial metropolitan with a freedom which was displeasing to the Roman pontiff.

Another eminent monk of Lérins was the learned St. Vincent, author of the aphorism, "*quod semper, quod ubique, et ab omnibus*," defining the Catholic faith as that which was held always, everywhere, and by all. To him, among others, has been ascribed the authorship of the Athanasian Creed. There are passages in the writings of St. Vincent which give support to this conjecture, which is not without probability. The monks of Lérins took an active part in the Arian controversy, and suffered not a little on this account under Theodoric and other kings of the Visigoths. All the circumstantial evidence that is forthcoming as to the date, language, and style of the Athanasian Creed, is favourable to the supposition that it proceeded from the monastery of Lérins.

Faustus, Salvian, and Cassian are names of note associated with the monastery; and it also claims to have shared with St. Martin's succes-

sors at Marmoutier the education of St. Patrick. Cassian's history was full of memorable incidents. He had been a supporter of Chrysostom at Constantinople; thence he went to Rome, which he left on the capture of the city by Alaric; and he finally proceeded to Marseilles and founded the abbey of St. Victor. A prominent part was taken by Cassian, Faustus, and other monks of Lérins in the controversy concerning grace and free will, in which their moderation exposed them to attacks on both sides. Having first done much to extinguish Pelagianism, they confuted the opposite extravagance of Predestinarians with a vigour, which laid open some of their chief teachers to the strictures of Augustine, and they were accused of being Semi-Pelagians.

After more than three centuries of beneficent activity, the monastery of Lérins fell a prey to the Saracens. Timely warning had been given of the approach of the hostile galleys, and the Abbot sent away into Italy the boys and young men whom he thought unfit to bear the trial of faith to which they were about to be subjected, in being called to choose between a cruel death and Islam. Then he assembled the brethren in

the Abbey Church and celebrated mass. Immediately after the conclusion of the service the enemy landed. There was no attempt at resistance or flight, either of which would then have been hopeless. A general massacre followed, a few of the monks being reserved for torture to discover treasures which the Saracens supposed to be hidden. At a later period, when the advance of the Moslem arms had been checked, the monastery of Lérins was revived, but it never regained its ancient importance.

## II.—THE FRANKS AND CHARLEMAGNE.

OUT of the tumult and confusion of barbaric wars the dominion of the Franks emerges, as the beginning of a durable monarchy. A German nation, like most of those which fell upon the provinces of Rome in its decay, the Franks obtained a footing on the eastern side of Gaul, which widened slowly in the course of centuries, until the whole country from the Meuse and Scheldt to the Pyrenees became subject to their princes, and acquired from them its modern name of France. Unlike the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain, there was a fusion of races, and the conquerors learned to speak the language of the conquered. The Latin tongue, as spoken in Gaul, was the base of the French language.

In general outline, the beginning of the kingdom of the Franks belongs as much to ecclesiastical as to civil history. Certain events stand out conspicuously from either point of view, being of vital importance alike to the Church

and to the State. Three notable instances are the following:—

1. The battle of Tolbiac, followed by the conversion of Clovis, A.D. 496.

2. The battle of Tours, in which the great Moslem invasion of Gaul was defeated by Charles Martel, A.D. 732.

3. The coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor, A.D. 800.

These three are turning points in the national history of the Franks, and they are no less prominent in the history of the Church.

1. It is the conversion of Clovis to Christianity which distinguishes the battle of Tolbiac from many similar but unrecorded battles, and which also distinguishes Clovis himself from his own ancestors and rivals, giving to him a special place of honour, as founder of a line of kings. Merovæus and Pharamond are shadows; but Clovis stands out in the light of history, sharply defined in his characteristic features, in his savage impetuosity, and his superstitious devotion.

His wife Clotilda was a Christian, and had impressed upon his mind the power and majesty of the God whom the Christians worshipped.

In the crisis of his battle with the Alemanni, he prayed aloud to the God of Clotilda, and vowed that he would embrace the Christian faith, if he gained the victory. After the victory was won, he offered himself, in fulfilment of his vow, to be baptized by St. Remigius, whose name is made celebrated by being still borne by his cathedral city Rheims, for many centuries the place of coronation of the French kings. Remigius addressed his convert in the peremptory words, "Sicambrian, burn what thou hast worshipped, and worship what thou hast burned." No such radical change, however, took place in the mind of Clovis. His character and the manners of the Franks are illustrated by several stories. When he heard for the first time the narrative of Christ's Passion, he exclaimed, "If I had been there with my Franks, I would have avenged Him!" He reserved for the bishop, after the battle of Soissons, a sacred vessel which he found among the spoil. A soldier resented this preference, murmured that the king was taking more than his share, and broke the vessel in pieces. Clovis bore the affront silently, but some time afterwards observed the same man standing in soiled armour, and reproaching him

with his negligence, bade him remember the cup at Soissons, and struck him dead with his battle-axe. Such was the sovereign whose conversion won for himself and his successors the title of Eldest son of the Church. He endowed the Church with lands, and gave the right of sanctuary to holy places. He was zealous after his manner for the orthodox faith, and defeated the Arian king of the Visigoths, Alaric II, in a great battle at Poitiers. He opened the way to an eager host of missionaries, among whom a distinguished place was taken by monks from Ireland. St. Columbanus carried a fiery cross of religious enthusiasm along the eastern side of Gaul towards the left bank of the Rhine. St. Malo left an enduring memory of his labours in Brittany. Later, the Order of St. Benedict, with its stricter and more methodical discipline, was introduced from Italy, chiefly by St. Maur, and the number of Benedictines in France was eventually computed by tens of thousands.

2. The last feeble descendants of Clovis were falling under the protecting domination of their Mayors of the Palace, when the progress of the Moslem arms threatened the very existence of the kingdom and the Church. Hosts of Moors



and Arabs had rapidly swept along the northern coast of Africa, wiping out every trace of Christianity, had then crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and in little more than a year after landing in Spain, had driven the Christians to take refuge in the mountains. Soon these terrible warriors appeared beyond the Pyrenees, and met no serious opposition until they had advanced as far as Tours. But the mace which was wielded by the strong hand of Charles Martel was equal to the duty of defending the sceptre of his king. A week of desultory fighting, followed by a day of carnage, decided the fate of Christendom. From morning till evening the horsemen of the Crescent spent their force in furious onsets, vainly trying to break the line of the Frankish knights, mounted on their powerful Belgian chargers. Late in the day the flank of the Moslems was turned, and a panic seized them. They fled under cover of darkness, leaving booty of immense value in their tents. Thenceforward the tide of Saracen invasion receded. Its waves broke at shorter distances, until Charlemagne with his paladins carried the war across the Pyrenees, and Christendom became aggressive.

3. Charlemagne's august figure stands out in

the Middle Ages, invested with the combined qualities of real and ideal majesty, uniting the virtues of the legendary British Arthur and the historical English Alfred. Among sovereigns who have been styled great, he alone has the epithet incorporated with his proper name by the veneration of posterity. More than this, his name has been raised to the stars, and associated with the brightest of northern constellations. The peasant, who speaks of Charles's Wain, is unawares paying tribute to the fame of the illustrious king of the Franks.

What Clovis had founded and Charles Martel had saved from destruction, was extended and organized by Charlemagne. An impartial and accurate view of his life dispels some of the illusions which fancy has woven, for his character was cast in a rude mould, and his virtues were those of a noble barbarian rather than those of a civilised prince. But his mind, like his body, was gigantic. His military prowess, remarkable as it was, served chiefly as a means of exercising higher and rarer qualities. As a conqueror, he was chiefly distinguished by his immense activity. He put his enemies to confusion by the amazing rapidity of his movements, falling on them like

a thunderbolt when they supposed him to be far away: and the dread of his vengeance kept his widespread empire in subjection as long as he lived. But the power which he won and maintained thus, was used for the purpose of introducing into Europe a new civilisation, a reign of government by law, of peaceful arts, and literary culture. To this end he allied himself cordially with the Church, in regard to which his conduct is nearly a model of the true relations of the temporal to the spiritual power, the circumstances of his time being duly considered. He exempted the clergy from military service, and at the same time forbade them to bear arms. He legalized the payment of tithes, and made rules for their equitable distribution between the bishops and clergy, the church fabrics, and the poor. He observed the need of a vigorous superintendence over the clergy to enforce spiritual discipline, and he saw in the historical fame of Rome resources as yet undeveloped, for confirming his own authority as king, and for exercising a central government in the Church. Separated as he was by more than two centuries from the time in which the overgrown power of Rome was to humiliate his successors, and be-

come a bane to Christendom, the range of his view was limited by a nearer horizon. He saw that a beneficial work was to be done, in which Rome could assist him; and it was only when his policy was crowned by wonderful success, that men began to see new dangers springing out of that very success. Not till the Church of Rome had fairly won respect as a civiliser and organizer of Christendom, was the influence, so acquired, turned to corrupt ends.

When Charlemagne died, none of his sons were found worthy to hold together the vast fabric of empire which he had raised, and his monarchy fell to pieces. But the ecclesiastical system which he had designed was left in strong hands. While secular government lapsed into anarchy, and the kings of the Franks were becoming overshadowed by such princes as the Dukes of Normandy and Counts of Anjou, the influence of the Church was steadily growing, and was for a long time the one humanising influence in the world.

Charlemagne has an indisputable right to be accounted the father of modern Europe. Throughout his long reign he appears chiefly as a reconstructor of order out of chaos. The interests of religion and civilisation, as he understood

them, were the object of his constant care, to which his whole force was directed.

His first important expedition was undertaken at the request of Pope Adrian I, who solicited his aid against the king of the Lombards. He invaded Lombardy, deposed the king Desiderius, and seized his crown. In the course of this campaign, he spared time to leave the army in order to visit Rome at Easter. There he presented himself as a pilgrim, and ascended the stairs of the ancient basilica of St. Peter upon his knees, kissing every step.

Then he turned his arms to the east of the Rhine against the Saxons, who were the most obstinate of his enemies, rising again and again in arms during his absence, to be chastised without mercy on his return. With a savage misconception of the religion which he desired to propagate, in the spirit of a Moslem rather than a Christian, he gave the conquered Saxons the alternative of baptism or death, and drove them by thousands into the Elbe to receive sacramental admission into the Church.

Having thus extended his dominions as far south as Naples, and as far east as the Oder, he turned towards Spain to measure his strength

with the Saracens, hoping to complete the triumph which his grandfather had begun. In this hope, however, he was disappointed. He crossed the Pyrenees, and advanced without difficulty as far as Ebro; but the walls of Saragossa resisted him, and after a fruitless campaign he retreated to Gaul, closely followed by the enemy, who cut off his rear-guard at Roncesvalles.

Charlemagne's hostility to the Moslem Caliphs and their religion did not hinder him from appreciating the arts and sciences, in which Bagdad and Cordova were in advance of Europe at that time. He procured Arabian teachers of algebra and astronomy. He also entered into friendly relations with his great contemporary the Caliph Haroun Alraschid, who sent him a clock, then recently invented. His conquests in Italy enabled him to carry off to the north a store of precious manuscripts and marbles. He introduced into his kingdom the art of ecclesiastical music, to which Pope Gregory the Great had contributed much in the previous century. He admired and carried away works of sculpture; but he was averse to image worship, and the weight of his authority restrained the tendency of the popes in this direction, so long as he lived.

He was enthusiastic in the cause of education, and his most trusted adviser was the learned Alcuin, whom he invited from England.

Alcuin was probably the greatest scholar of the age, familiar with the whole circle of sciences, and anticipating the scholarship of a later period by his skill in revising the texts of ancient authors by collation of manuscripts. Under him worked a multitude of transcribers, and the Court of Aix la Chapelle became a kind of college, in which the Bible, the Fathers, and the Classics were studied with almost equal assiduity. The princes and princesses amused themselves by adopting the names of those characters of antiquity whom they held in special honour. Charlemagne's favourite was King David, that of the Archbishop of Rheims was Virgil. One day, during a conversation between the King and Alcuin on the merits of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, the King exclaimed, "Would that I had twelve others like them!" Alcuin, taking the privilege of a teacher, replied, "Their Maker has no others like them, and do you desire twelve?" The treatise of St. Augustine on the City of God was Charlemagne's constant study, and perhaps of all books exercised most influence on his ideas and conduct.

He made some progress under Alcuin in arithmetic, music, and other sciences. But he could not succeed in learning to write. There is a touching simplicity in the picture which his biographer Eginhard presents to us of the majestic hero, whose arm sustained so great a monarchy, toiling with intractable fingers over his tablets, sleeping with them under his pillow, and at length desisting from the task as too arduous, admitting that he had begun to learn too late.

Charlemagne had reigned nearly thirty years, when the conflict at Rome, arising out of the election of Pope Leo III, obliged him to intervene. Leo, attacked by enemies and in danger of his life, took refuge with Charlemagne in Westphalia, and entreated his help. On this occasion he entered Rome as a conqueror, and bestowed on Leo the donation, so fruitful of strife in later times, of the temporal sovereignty of Rome and the adjacent territory. His confirmation of Leo in the Papal chair was a precedent, followed long after the increasing pride of the popes resented it. Till the time of Gregory VII. in the eleventh century, the popes applied to the successors of Charlemagne for the ratification of their election by the Roman clergy



and people, before entering upon their office. Leo made a more than royal recompense to his ally for the service which he had received at his hands. On Christmas Day 800, in the basilica of St. Peter, he placed an imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne, who knelt before the high altar, having put off his Frankish dress for that of a Roman patrician. The people took up with acclamation the words which the pope uttered, Emperor and Augustus. They spread throughout Europe, and a new historical period began from that momentous day.

The reign of Charlemagne continued for fourteen years after his coronation as Emperor. He spent the last months of his life in study and prayer, the mere influence of his name being sufficient to maintain his sovereignty unimpaired. But soon after his death the dismemberment of his dominions began. In 843 the territory west of the Rhine was separated from the empire. His descendants continued to wear the royal crown, but always with diminishing territory and failing power. Their vassals became virtually independent. The Normans, whose future greatness Charlemagne had anticipated with melancholy foreboding, as he watched their sails

on the coast, established themselves in the north of France, and soon became distinguished, not only by their fearlessness and restlessness, but by their aptitude for learning and arts. The Counts of Paris, who also bore the title of Dukes of France, acquired a protectorate over the Crown analogous to that which Charles Martel and Pepin had exercised over the descendants of Clovis. At length, on the death of Louis V. in 987, the Carolingian race ceased to reign. At an assembly of the chief nobles of the kingdom, held at Senlis, the Archbishop of Rheims declared, "The crown is not hereditary, but elective, and requires not only noble blood, but wisdom and magnanimity." He proceeded to describe the nearest heir of Charlemagne as altogether unworthy of the crown, and concluded, "If you wish for the good of the State, crown Duke Hugh!" Hugh Capet was accordingly elected with the unanimous consent of nobles and clergy, and took the style of King of France. The extent of his royal dominion was less than that of several of his feudatory princes. A territory no larger than a single province, having Paris and Orleans in the centre, comprised the actual kingdom.

Throughout the changes of dynasty and of civil government the Church retained, almost unaltered, the boundary lines which had been drawn under the Roman Empire. One hundred and twenty cities were the seats of as many bishops, whose dioceses were grouped in eighteen provinces, the chief city or metropolis in each province being the seat of an archbishop. The ecclesiastical system was thus founded on the civil divisions of ancient Rome, and carried into the new period the local traditions of former times. While landmarks were obliterated by the chances of war, and the districts of Gaul fell asunder, the Church drew closer its bonds of union. The Papal Court, growing in ambition with the opportunities which were presented by the distracted state of Europe, engrossed more and more power in its own hands. Papal claims which had no warrant in history were advanced by the aid of forged documents, such as the Decretals of Isidore, to the injury of the ancient liberties of the Church, as represented in provincial and diocesan synods.

Nicolas I, the ablest of those who occupied the Papal chair during the period of the Carolingian kings, found an antagonist of no less

ability in Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. Hincmar asserted the rightful authority of the Councils and ancient traditions of the Church against the arbitrary decrees of the Roman pontiff. But the current of the times ran too strongly against him. The tendency to centralisation in the Church was promoted by many causes, apart from the particular pleas which the popes and their advocates urged. The clergy sought strength in union. The unmarried clergy, more especially, devoted themselves to the aggrandisement of their order, and were zealous in favour of papal authority as a means of resisting secular influences. Celibacy had long been regarded as almost indispensable to the highest standard of clerical virtue. It was first imposed as an obligation by a papal decree, with a politic foresight of the effect of the severance of family ties. In this one step were involved tremendous consequences. The violence done at the time to the clergy and their families passed away, but left a deeper effect; the permanent alienation of the Church, as represented by the clergy, from the general body of the people, and from the normal course of human life, its duties and its affections.

### III.—BEGINNING OF THE CRUSADES : SAINT BERNARD.

IN the history of most nations there are long periods, during which the sovereign power is weak, and the land is distracted with petty quarrels, until strong hands gather up the reins of government, making their power felt both near and far, and directing the national energies in a determined course. Such a period of slackness ensued upon the death of Charlemagne, and lasted long after the accession of Hugh Capet. On a sudden the aspect of France and Europe was transformed by the rise in succession of a number of men of the highest ability. None of the French kings contributed much to this great change. It was among their feudatory princes in Aquitaine, Normandy, and Flanders that the impulse began, which made the eleventh century memorable: and the Normans beyond any other race impressed upon that age its peculiar character of religious devotion and bold adventure.

At first the Normans appeared of all people the most unlikely to advance the power of the Church. Their ancestors had been among the fiercest enemies of Christianity; and after their conversion they were noted for a reckless violence of temperament, which was apt on occasion to set the Church at defiance. Nevertheless, they combined with this violence and fierceness a religious fervour, which soon met with sympathy and guidance on the part of the wise ecclesiastical rulers who occupied the papal chair. Normandy was covered with magnificent abbeys, the homes of some of the most learned and holy men of the time, by whose influence new vigour was imparted to France.

Pope Gregory VII. had conceived, among other vast designs, the idea of uniting the kingdoms of Christendom in a holy war against the Moslems. But this enterprise, which appealed alike to the roving spirit of the sea-kings, and to their religious zeal, was reserved for a humbler instrument. Peter, called the Hermit, a native of Amiens, who had been a pilgrim to the Holy Land, was profoundly moved by the sight of the miseries and humiliations undergone by the Christians in the East. The deliverance of Jerusalem from

the infidels took possession of his mind as a fixed idea. He saw visions and heard voices, summoning him to this holy task. First he appealed to the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, who could do nothing. Then he presented himself before the Pope, Urban II, who listened to him with attention, and encouraged him to make the case of the oppressed Christians more widely known. It soon appeared to the observant eye of Urban that the eloquence of Peter was producing an effect of which good use might be made ; that the time was come for accomplishing Gregory's grand conception, by uniting the followers of Christ in a war against the followers of Mahomet.

A Council was held at Clermont in Auvergne, attended by more than two hundred bishops, towards the close of the year 1095. Thousands of knights, and a much larger multitude of people, camped out for a week on the surrounding hills, awaiting the decision of the Council. At length the ecclesiastical deliberations were concluded, and the pope came out into the open air, attended by a long train of prelates, and also by one undersized man of insignificant appearance, who was the prime mover of the agitation which had

brought this concourse together. Urban, who was also a Frenchman, spoke first, and referred briefly to the afflictions which the Christians were suffering in the Holy Land. Then he bade Peter declare what he had seen there, and what he had endured. Afterwards Urban addressed the assembly again, while yet under the spell of Peter's impassioned oratory. He made an earnest appeal to the nobles and knights, for Christ's sake, to turn their arms from mutual slaughter to make common cause against the infidel who profaned the Holy Sepulchre. He recited Christ's promises to those who should forsake wife, or family, or lands, for His sake, and bade them in the Saviour's words, take up the Cross and follow Him.

As he spoke, the assembly was carried away by a spontaneous and uncontrollable impulse of enthusiasm. "God wills it," "God wills it," was the cry which passed from one to another, and was soon echoed throughout Europe. Men of all ranks flocked to the clergy tumultuously, to receive crosses of red cloth to be worn on the shoulder, as pledges of self-dedication to the holy war against the infidels.

The impatience of the people could not en-



dure even the moderate delay which their leaders thought necessary. Two large hosts, hurriedly equipped, and accompanied by a long train of women and children, started for the East, one under the direction of Peter the Hermit, the other under a knight who was called Walter the Penniless. These ill-organized expeditions failed to reach the Holy Land. Most of those who took part in them perished on the journey, having inflicted and suffered dreadful miseries.

In the following autumn, three well-appointed armies set forth from France by different routes to meet at Constantinople, and prosecute their march together. The central army contained the flower of Norman knighthood, under Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror. The northern army was led by Godfrey of Bouillon, and was composed chiefly of knights from Flanders and Lorraine. The third army under Raymond, Count of Toulouse, was raised in the southern part of France. Godfrey, who had supreme command of the three armies, was admirably qualified to be the head of an expedition in which the spirit of religion and the spirit of chivalry were associated together. Poets and romancers have done him little more than

justice, in investing him with the attributes of a perfect warrior. His valour had made him illustrious in his younger days, when he decided the succession to the Empire, by overthrowing Henry's rival Rudolph in single combat. His military skill and prudence were not less remarkable; but it was above all the purity and dignity of his character, which gave him the moral influence which was required, to hold together the vast and miscellaneous force under his command.

Scarcely less notable was the brilliant Raymond of Toulouse. He was reputed the richest prince of Christendom, and the splendour of his retinue was enhanced by the refined culture in which Languedoc was said to excel other parts of Europe. Raymond, although fifty years of age, was the foremost prince to take up the cross; and his conduct throughout the crusade shows an impetuous ardour in harmony with this beginning.

The Norman contingent was second to none in the courage and military excellence of the knights who composed it. Among the names of the heroes of the first Crusade, that of the Norman Tancred is eminent, both in history and

fiction. He was nephew of the no less famous Bohemund, Prince of Tarento.

When the united armies were reviewed soon after crossing the Hellespont, they amounted to 100,000 knights, and 600,000 followers on foot. The enormous difficulties of the expedition were slowly overcome by Godfrey's patient wisdom. In 1099, the third year of the Crusade, the goal was reached. Jerusalem was taken by storm, with almost incredible slaughter. Syria was divided into counties and marquisates according to the feudal system, and the kingdom of Jerusalem was offered by acclamation to Godfrey. He refused the royal title, saying he would not wear a golden crown where Christ had worn a crown of thorns ; and he took the humbler title of Baron of the Holy Sepulchre.

For a period of forty years after this achievement, the Christians held the ground which they had won. But towards the middle of the twelfth century Europe was agitated by the news, that Edessa had been stormed with a frightful massacre of the Christians, and that the Holy City was in danger. A second Crusade was necessary to secure the results of the first.

In calling Christendom to arms on this occa-

sion, the chief agent was Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard was foremost among the churchmen of his time, a time fertile in great men. He is, perhaps beyond all other men in the Middle Ages, a representative of the monastic spirit in its noblest form. As a youth he was seized by a burning passion to rise superior to the vanities of the world, and practised the sharpest self-discipline in order to mortify his flesh. Naturally of a weak and fragile constitution, he inured his body, not without an almost mortal struggle, to bear various kinds of hardship; and as his soul gained mastery over his own body, he acquired an ascendancy no less victorious over the minds of others. He was endowed with a voice and eloquence of rare persuasiveness, gifts which were enhanced by the intensity and fervour of his character. The rigour of his austerities, which his own maturer judgment disapproved, did much to spread his reputation for sanctity. Dissatisfied with the rule of life of the Cistercians, a reformed and stricter branch of the Benedictine order, as falling short of his high standard, he sought and found at Clairvaux a wild spot, in a district infested by lawless men, where he and his companions had no means of subsistence for

a time, except the nuts and berries of the forest. Even here he had not resided long before his fame drew after him a numerous brotherhood, eager to learn from him the secret of holiness and of assured salvation. The miracles related of Bernard raised him, during his lifetime, to a height of popular veneration equal to that which was paid to primitive saints and martyrs.

It was not possible for such a man to continue in seclusion. Princes and prelates sought out Bernard, and submitted to the hard fare of the monastery, in order to have the privilege of conferring with him. In proportion as his abilities became known, stronger pressure was brought to bear upon him to make him come forth from Clairvaux for the welfare of the Church. He steadfastly refused preferment; but when he attended the Council of Pisa as a simple abbot, he was received with a deference beyond that which was paid to the Pope himself. His influence, at that time and afterwards, preserved the Church from schism. One of the brethren of his abbey who was raised to the papal chair, Eugenius III, insisted on treating Bernard as his spiritual superior, while he dictated to the kings of Europe.

On hearing of the fall of Edessa, Bernard threw himself with all his might into the movement for a second Crusade. He visited the principal cities of France and Germany, arousing the enthusiasm of his hearers as he promised forgiveness of sins and everlasting life to those who should forsake their homes for Christ's sake. The expedition was organized on a scale even grander than before, under the Emperor Conrad and the King of France, Louis VII. Louis left his kingdom under the care of Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, who administered the government wisely during the king's absence on his disastrous expedition. The second Crusade, notwithstanding its auspicious beginning, was an utter failure. The army of Louis was dispersed in Asia Minor, and the king himself returned to France almost alone, having accomplished nothing beyond a peaceful pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When the results of the Crusade became known, angry murmurs arose against Bernard, who had ventured to predict a successful issue. He met these murmurs with unshaken faith, affirming that the failure of the Crusade was caused by the perfidious conduct of the Greeks at Constantinople, humanly speaking; but that it had a deeper

cause in the wrath of God at the vicious lives of the crusaders. Those who engaged in a holy war should themselves be holy, he declared; and their sins had drawn down divine vengeance upon them. The high character of Bernard upheld him through this crisis, and when he passed to his rest a few years later, he was already venerated as one of the blessed company of heaven.

It fell to the lot of Bernard, a few years before the second Crusade, to take part in a theological controversy of lasting importance, which foreshadowed many subsequent disputes in France. His antagonist was a man whose extraordinary talents made him the wonder of the time for intellectual power. This was Peter Abelard, better known for his romantic life than for the speculations which exposed him to the censures of the Church. The lectures of Abelard at Paris attracted round his chair a throng of students beyond all former precedent. The younger minds of Europe were newly awakened to a thirst for knowledge, which as yet there was nothing to satisfy. A revival of learning had set in, a period such as recurs at long intervals in history, when the authorized teaching of former

generations becomes insipid, and active minds desire eagerly to open fresher springs of thought. In those days a popular teacher had no means of imparting knowledge to his pupils, except by word of mouth. The circulation of manuscripts was limited and slow. Those who wished to hear the latest doctrines expounded were obliged to hear them from the teacher's own lips. Abelard's lordly presence and skill in argument gave immense effect to his theories, which were intrinsically of a nature to awaken lively interest. He was the first great Churchman in modern Europe who held what might be termed in modern language, Rationalist opinions. From the time of the extinction of the Alexandrian school of Clement and Origen, no one had dared to think independently on the great problems of religious philosophy. Tradition ruled the minds of theologians. What had been said by ancient Fathers and ancient Councils, or what had been written by commentators on those Fathers and Councils, a ponderous digest of second-hand notes, was the sum of the scholastic learning, to which Abelard gave a tremendous shock. He spoke with a freedom which appeared to border on heresy, of the questions which human reason has



regarded as fundamental in ancient and modern times, such questions as were discussed by Plato at Athens, and by Descartes in modern Europe. Abelard was far, indeed, from throwing off religious veneration, or the restraints of the schools in which he had been trained. His writings resemble those of his contemporaries in their general form. But the men of his own day saw more clearly the novelty of his views, how he took reason, not authority, for the ultimate test of truth; and the theologians of Paris were filled with alarm.

Bernard was entreated to leave his abbey and encounter this formidable innovator. He hesitated, aware that Abelard, if less persuasive in oratory, was far more expert in disputation. But the comparison of David and Goliath encouraged him to trust, that God would give victory to the cause of the weak against the strong. The meeting took place at Sens, in 1140, in the presence of the king and a large number of the nobles and clergy. So high, however, was the respect for Bernard's sanctity, so great the popular aversion to novelties in doctrine, that Abelard had no opportunity of defending himself. His tongue, so seductive that

men feared to listen to him, lest they should be converted to his opinions, was silent on that day. He merely appealed to Rome, and the voice of Rome at that particular time was an echo of the voice of Bernard. Abelard was bidden to cease from disputing on the mysteries of religion. He took refuge in the monastery of Clugny, and died two years afterwards, reconciled to his opponent, and occupied to the last in prayer and study.

The contrast between Bernard and Abelard is one which meets us again and again in French history: on the one side a representative of ecclesiastical tradition, on the other a champion of free thought. Abelard was neither the best nor the worst of a long series of able men in France, who have aspired, with more or less singleness of purpose, to know more of the Universe than they found in the dogmatic teaching of the Church. He lived in an age when the current of religious feeling was against him, and the faults of his life were darkened by comparison with the austere purity of his rival. Nevertheless it should be recognised that Abelard's was a great and noble mind: a mind reverential in the exercise of its freedom. Posterity ratifies

the papal absolution which was laid in his grave, an absolution which was pronounced upon him too late to reach his ears, and soothe his broken heart.

Rationalism appeared in a more dangerous form in the south of France at the beginning of the next century. The Troubadours of Languedoc mingled with their light songs of love and wine much free-spoken satire of the Church, which was ill represented in that district by luxurious and indolent clergy. A sect of reformers grew up at Toulouse, called Albigenses, and their free-thinking tenets, the exact nature of which is doubtful, made alarming progress. A papal legate was sent to put down their heresy, and was assassinated. Thereupon Pope Innocent III. proclaimed a crusade against the Albigenses. The fertile plains of Languedoc were made the scene of a desolating war, which was carried on with ruthless cruelty for twenty years. Beziers, Carcassoune, and other cities were sacked. At the storming of the former city the successor of the murdered legate was present, urging the men at arms to bloodshed. To a knight who asked, "How shall we know the Catholics from the heretics?" he answered, "Kill all, the

Lord will know His own." As soon as the war was over, the Inquisition followed and completed what was left undone. The Dominican Order, which was organized expressly for the purpose of extirpating the Albigensian heresy, had its first convent at Toulouse, and there the meetings of the Inquisition were held. Almost simultaneous with the rise of the Dominicans, or Preaching Friars, was that of the Franciscans, or Begging Friars. Dominic was a Spaniard, Francis an Italian; but the religious orders which they founded play an important part in the history of the Church in France. They serve also to represent two distinct types of character which are found side by side, sometimes in harmony, sometimes opposed: the spirit of Dominic repressive, severe, dogmatic; the spirit of Francis affectionate, tender, persuasive. The alternate predominance of these two religious types is a notable feature in French ecclesiastical history down to the most recent times.

#### IV.—END OF THE CRUSADES: ST. LOUIS.

THE part which was taken by the French in the Crusades was so conspicuous, that the name of Frank became known in the East as a generic name for the people of Western Europe, and is so to this day. Instigated by the preaching of a French pilgrim and a French Pope, the first Crusade was under the command of three French knights. The second Crusade was promoted mainly by the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux, and one of the two expeditionary armies was led by Louis VII. of France. In the third Crusade another king of France, Philip Augustus, took the Cross. The fourth, although under the command of the Venetian Dandolo, was largely composed of Frenchmen. The fifth and sixth were led by Louis IX, a king whom later ages, with consenting voice, have preferred to style by his title of canonization, Saint Louis.

Among the many kings and nobles who devoted their lives and fortunes to the arduous task of

reconquering the Holy Land, none had a more spiritual conception of the cause in which they were fighting. The character of St. Louis is marked throughout by the deep religious sentiment which led him twice to take up the Cross. The Crusade was to him not a mere military adventure, to be accomplished by the taking of Jerusalem and the slaughter of a host of Moslems. He had a genuine desire to extend Christ's kingdom in the hearts of men, both by conversion of the infidel, and by the establishment in his own dominions of a higher standard of holy living.

He was called to the throne at the age of eleven years by the early death of his father. There was reason to fear that his title might be disputed ; but his mother Queen Blanche had powerful friends, with whose aid she was able not only to vindicate the crown for him, but to govern France during his minority with brilliant success. She made peace with the Count of Toulouse, and arranged a marriage between his only daughter and her son Alphonse, which eventually brought the whole of Languedoc to the French crown. Politic, imperious, and at the same time fascinating, she compelled the powerful Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy to swear fealty to Louis.

On his coming of age she delivered up the kingdom to him in a state of peace and prosperity such as France had seldom known. It was easier to her, however, to rule than to refrain from ruling. She continued to assert over her son a maternal authority, which, although benevolently and prudently exercised, was not without loss to his dignity as king. In particular, she interfered between him and his heroic young wife, Marguerite of Provence.

The constitution of Louis appears to have been delicate, and his sensibility of mind was extreme. He was lying dangerously ill when he heard of the capture of Jerusalem by a new horde of Moslems from Tartary. When he was well enough to speak, he vowed to go to the deliverance of the Holy City if he should recover. His mother and clergy earnestly besought him to give up a project so injurious to the welfare of his kingdom, but he quietly held his peace until he had regained his strength. Then he summoned the Archbishop of Paris, from whom he had received the cross, and gave it back, saying "I was not in full possession of my faculties when I took the cross." Before his mother and the rest could express their joy, he added "Now I know what I am doing, and I ask

to have it back again. No food shall enter my lips till the cross is fixed to my shoulder." His counsellors observing his steadfast determination, accepted it as a sign of the Divine Will, leading him on.

A brilliant assemblage of knights sailed with Louis from Aigues Mortes in 1248. He was then thirty-three years of age. His Queen accompanied him and shared the dangers of his disastrous campaign. The greater part of a year was spent in Cyprus unprofitably, waiting for expected reinforcements from various quarters. The army then crossed over to Damietta at the mouth of Nile, the plan of the campaign being to liberate Syria by attacking the Sultan of Egypt on his own ground. On arriving at Damietta Louis was the first to leap into the sea, sword in hand, and the city was immediately taken by assault.

This one feat of arms was the only success which the Crusaders obtained. The rise of the Nile stopped their intended march, too long delayed, to Cairo. They remained inactive for months, suffering greatly from the burning climate. Meanwhile the enemy grew bolder. When the army marched on Mansourah, it was harassed



and at length surrounded by the Moslem host. Advance or retreat was alike impossible. Louis and a large portion of his soldiers were invalided, and after a desperate struggle, in which the English knights and the Templars bore a part, he was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner with nearly his whole army. The personal conduct of Louis during the campaign won for him the entire confidence of his followers, in spite of his ill-success. They watched him in battle with admiration, conspicuous by his great height, and making a way through the enemy with sweeps of his broadsword. As a prisoner the nobility of his character shone out, when he stipulated for the ransom of his army, and scorned to offer money for himself. His captor solicited the honour of knighthood at his hands, but he refused to give knighthood to one who was not a Christian. Queen Marguerite, who had remained with the garrison at Damietta, had reason to fear that she also might fall into the enemy's hands, and requested an old knight to thrust his sword into her heart in case the fortress should be taken. She was able, however, to hold the place, and eventually to give it as a ransom for the king. Notwithstanding this

disaster, Louis sailed to Acre, and remained in the Holy Land for four years with the remnant of his army, continuing to do what he could for the Christians in the East, which indeed was but little.

During his absence from home, his mother administered the affairs of the kingdom, until her death. The news of this event affected him profoundly, and determined him to put an end to his protracted residence in the Holy Land. He returned to France in 1254, disappointed, but not disheartened; and applied himself to the duties of his government, still cherishing with unextinguished ardour and persistence the desire to win the Holy City.

Probably neither Louis nor any of his contemporaries entertained the thought, that in proceeding to execute justice and mercy in his own land, for his own people, he was conquering for Christ a Holy City, and so fulfilling the object of his hopes in a better sense than if he had planted the Oriflamme on Mount Zion. The idea of a City of God as described in the New Testament, and elaborated in St. Augustine's treatise, was not in harmony with the somewhat material and superstitious notions of the Middle

Ages. It was present to the mind of Louis as an aspiration, but he failed to see the sacredness of his work in France, as compared with the rescue of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, he performed the duty which lay before him with a vigour and unselfish rectitude which made his reign one of the most happy in French history.

As a legislator Louis holds a high place. The Roman Law of Justinian, which had passed out of memory in the dissolution of the Empire, came to light again in his reign, and he employed learned men to study its provisions. He convoked what was called a Parliament, a judicial rather than a legislative body, in which men of law were associated with prelates and nobles, and soon by their superior learning and patience obtained the chief direction of affairs. Law began to get the upper hand in the administration of the realm, instead of arbitrary will. Travelling was made more secure from the molestation of petty nobles who were little more than titled robbers; the roads were improved, and the coinage was reduced to an uniform standard.

With a tender piety which was almost feminine, Louis combined a masculine love of justice. Devout son of the Church as he was, he knew his

duty as a patriotic sovereign ; and his reverence for the clergy in their sacred office did not blind him to the iniquity and corruption of the ecclesiastical courts. He set his face resolutely against the aggressive pretensions of Rome, and it is to him that France owes the assertion of two great principles of law, by which the royal supremacy is vindicated in temporal things: namely, that money could not be raised for the Court of Rome in the kingdom without the royal consent; and that a right of appeal was admitted from ecclesiastical courts to those of the king, in cases where an abuse of jurisdiction was pleaded. These two constitutional principles are expressed in a document called the Pragmatic Sanction, which was long ascribed to Louis. The ascription of the particular document is doubtful, but the principles are essentially his.

It was high time for a stand to be made against the steady encroachment of Papal power. The earlier claims of the see of Rome to be the spiritual head and centre of Christendom had been extended by Gregory VII. and his successors into a doctrine that the Pope was feudal overlord above all princes, supreme alike in temporal and in spiritual things. The ambition of the

Papal Court was supported by spurious canons and decrees, the forgery of which men were unable then to detect. One after another of the great kingdoms of Europe had been humiliated, in the person of its sovereign, before the Roman Pontiff. The most recent instance was that of John of England, compelled to surrender his crown into the hands of the Papal Legate, and doing homage for it upon his knees. Another was that of the Emperor Henry IV. excommunicated by the Pope, and forced to await absolution in the court-yard of Canossa. Some of the predecessors of Louis on the throne of France had been made to tremble likewise by the dreadful sentence of excommunication. Philip I. had been driven from his throne to retire into a monastery. A painful disease which came upon him he took for a special visitation of God, ratifying the censures of the Church on his misdoings. He fell into a profound melancholy, constantly tormented by the fear of hell, and when he felt his end to be near, he requested leave to be buried in the habit of a Benedictine monk, apart from the remains of his ancestors at St. Denis. Philip Augustus also, although one of the most able and successful of French kings.

was compelled to submit to the dictation of the imperious Innocent III.

While the authority of the Church was thus exalted above that of the Crown, the possession of power led to abuses which were unforeseen by the holy men of an earlier time, who had conscientiously upheld the Papal supremacy as a means of establishing the kingdom of heaven on earth. It was now manifest to any one whose eyes were open to the facts of the time, that the lofty pretensions of Rome were made to subserve the sordid purpose of enriching the Roman treasury. The avarice of the Papal Court became more and more shameless; and greedy Italians, in large numbers, were intruded into rich benefices north of the Alps.

Joinville, the companion and biographer of Louis, gives many illustrations of his 'fervent piety, and of his love of justice. "One day," he says, "the king said to me, Seneschal, which do you prefer, leprosy, or mortal sin?"

"I, who never lie to him, answered, that I would rather have committed thirty mortal sins than be a leper."

"By and by he took me aside, and said, You speak without reflection, like a fool. For when

a man dies, he is cured of the leprosy of the body; but when a man, who has committed mortal sin, dies, it is not certain that he has had such repentance as to be pardoned by God. I pray you, for the love of God and me, to lay this to heart, to prefer any bodily disease to mortal sin of the soul."

Another of Joinville's stories shews how Louis maintained the jurisdiction of his courts against the clergy. A number of the bishops, headed by the Bishop of Auxerre, complained to him that men made light of excommunication; and requested that excommunicate persons might be compelled, by seizure of their goods, to do penance. Louis replied that he would consent willingly, provided the offence were proved in his courts: to which the bishops objected that the trial of such cases did not properly belong to the king's court. Thereupon Louis instanced the case of the Count of Brittany, who had been excommunicated for seven years by his clergy, and had at length obtained from the Pope a reversal of this unjust sentence. "Now," said he, "if I had compelled the Count to do penance under this unrighteous judgment, I should have sinned against God and him."

Frank and gentle in manner, easy of access to those who wished to make petition to him, and just without respect of persons, Louis was adored by his people. He twice preserved his kingdom from war by his willingness to agree to a treaty of peace, on a basis of mutual concession. The equitable spirit which he shewed in regard to his own interests, induced the English barons to appeal to him as an arbitrator in their disputes with Henry III., and to accept his decision when it was given against them. He delighted in works of charity, attending upon the sick poor, and waiting on lepers with his own hand. Among the public institutions at Paris which he promoted, were a Hospital for the blind, a Library, and the celebrated College which was founded by his counsellor Robert de Sorbon, and which long held the first place in Europe as a school of theology.

Learning and arts flourished in the reign of Louis. Some of the most exquisite specimens of mediæval architecture belong to this time: among others, the west front of Rheims Cathedral, and the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, which he built as a shrine for a sacred relic, the Saviour's crown of thorns.



In the midst of the useful activity of the reign of Louis, his thoughts still turned to the fulfilment of his early vow as a crusader. He was stimulated to resume this task by the conquests of the Sultan of Egypt, who took advantage of the discord between the Greeks and Latins in the East to fall upon the Christians of Syria. Jaffa, Cæsarea, and Antioch were taken, and the Christians massacred to the number, it was asserted, of 100,000. Thereupon, in 1270, Louis fitted out another expedition with haste, and landed at Tunis. But the want of due forethought appeared in this crusade more conspicuously than in the former. The heat of Africa, and the scarcity of water, wasted away the army without any opportunity of striking an effectual blow. Louis himself was one of the first to be prostrated with sickness. He felt his end to be approaching, and called his son to him for parting words of counsel. The ruling principles of his own conduct were summed up in his exhortation: To love God, to have pity on the poor and the weak, to maintain the good customs of the kingdom and abolish those which were bad: to choose godly and upright men for his companions. He sank into unconsciousness

soon afterwards, but his lips continued to murmur the name of the holy city, which had been the object of his waking dream through life.

Among the illustrious figures of French history, that of St. Louis holds in some respects an unique position, analogous to that of his own Chapel rising high in its pure mediæval beauty among the edifices of Paris. In him, more than in any one man, were concentrated the peculiar tendencies of the age in which he lived, refined from all their baser elements. His character was penetrated by the religious and military sentiments of his time: yet he differs essentially from the ordinary type of crusading kings. He was no lover of war for its own sake; and though his prowess in battle made him a leader such as knights delight to follow, he had not, in any high degree, the qualities of a general. He would have failed to control his ambitious barons, and would never have strengthened the royal power as he did, were it not for the earnest enthusiasm of his character, which worked like a spell upon all around him. Under a mild and smiling countenance lay hid an iron tenacity of will, which chose gentle means by preference to the attainment of its ends, but was inflexible

in its resolution. Wrong-doing, and especially profaneness or blasphemy, excited in him a terrible anger, which the bravest of his knights dared not provoke. He went forward in the path of duty with quiet but fearless steps, not willingly making enemies, but caring only to please God, and prepared to stand alone if necessary. Opposition was quelled by the influence of his stainless integrity, like the lion in Spenser's poem crouching at the feet of maiden innocence. Later kings of France, whatever their special distinction, have no prouder title than that of successors of Saint Louis.

After his death the crusading fever began to subside. A long series of reverses convinced the nations of Europe of the difficulty of making war in the East, and the greater difficulty of holding permanently any ground which was won, against fresh swarms of enemies inured to eastern life. For more than a century longer the recovery of Jerusalem continued to be the ideal object of aspiring minds, as in the case of Henry IV. and Henry V. of England. Yet little was actually accomplished. On the surface the Crusades might appear to have been no more than a great and prolonged defeat of

the Christian invaders of Asia, answering to the defeat of the Moslem invaders of Europe at an earlier period. Indirectly, however, the Crusades contributed much to the civilisation of Europe.

Greatly as France had suffered in these wars, through profuse expenditure of treasure, and the blood of many of her noblest sons, the end of the period of the Crusades found the nation far richer, more powerful, and more civilised than at the beginning. By the wide-spread influence of one ennobling thought, all the energies of the people were developed into more vigorous action. An impulse was given to every study, to every trade, and to every art. While the more combative portion of the nation drifted away, like a storm-cloud, to the eastern horizon, the industrious classes availed themselves of a comparative respite from war to cultivate the arts of peace. Commerce, navigation, and several handicrafts were specially encouraged by the exigencies of war beyond the seas. Under the fostering care of the Church, Gothic architecture was brought to perfection during this period, and a great revival of scholastic learning culminated in the works of Thomas Aquinas and his contemporaries. While industry thrived, the

cities grew powerful, and the citizens became better able to resist the oppression of the nobles.

Nor was the time and valour of the Crusaders utterly thrown away. They returned home altered men, though the alteration was of various kinds. Intercourse with the East produced in some an Oriental cruelty and licentiousness; but others were refined by contact with a more advanced civilisation, and long absence from home strengthened their domestic affections. A generous rivalry in feats of arms was fostered by the mixture of nations as comrades on the battle-field. Courtesies unknown to former times softened their ferocity: and their manners, like their armour, acquired grace and refinement through emulation. Above all, it was not in vain that their faces were set towards Jerusalem during so many months and years of inaction. Meditating on the sacred symbol which they wore, they endeavoured, not altogether ineffectually, to imitate the example of compassionate love which the Cross represented. So an ideal of virtue was originated, in which the spirit of the Lamb was united with that of the Lion. Chivalry comprised not merely the discipline of knight-hood, but a moral code, in which certain purely

Christian graces—humility, gentleness, mercy—mingled with the qualities of a skilful horseman and swordsman. From the age of the Crusades dates the establishment of an unwritten code of honour, which exercised thenceforward a vast influence on social life.

But the most immediate result of the Crusades was an enormous accession of power to the Church, and especially to the Papal See. Pious benefactors founded abbeys, and enriched them with lands which fructified in the industrious hands of the clergy, while the property of the barons around was exhausted in order to supply the means of going to war. Thus the wealth of the Church increased, while that of the nobles diminished.

The claims of Rome to universal sovereignty were little disputed, for they were felt to be in harmony with the special needs of the time. An arbitrator was wanted, to adjust the differences of rival kings; and the Pope's assumption of this office was peculiarly appropriate in questions which arose out of a religious war. The Papal dominion was most absolute during the period of the Crusades, and began to decline soon afterwards.

## V.—THE POPES OF AVIGNON.

A HUGE and gloomy pile of masonry, half-palace, half-fortress, raises its walls high above the ancient city of Avignon, at the junction of the Rhone and the Durance. There, for nearly seventy years, the Papal Court was held under the protection of French kings, Philip the Fair and his successors; and during that time the supreme authority in the Church was to a considerable extent in French hands. The ostensible cause of the removal of Pope Clement V. from Rome was the disorderly and factious state of the city. But the real cause was a deep-laid plan of King Philip, which he was able to carry into effect by his command of money; for money begins at this period to play a more important part in all public affairs, and especially in those which concern the Court of Rome.

Rarely has a handsome face concealed so hard a heart as that of Philip the Fair. Avarice was his ruling passion: not the sordid avarice of a

miser, but a high-handed rapacity, which could risk much and spend much to obtain more. His abilities were considerable, and his expedients to enrich himself were distinguished by an inventiveness and audacity which no scruple of conscience restrained. He was without any sentiment of justice, without pity, and, what was strange in his time, without the superstitious awe which restrained other princes who were pitiless and unjust from provoking the censures of the Church.

One of his methods of raising money was to employ skilful lawyers to detect some illegality in the conduct of rich men, and to lay on these victims ruinous fines. Another method was to debase the coinage, and afterwards refuse to take it back at the value at which it had been issued. Another was, to seize on the same day all the bankers throughout France, and force large sums from them by means of torture. Afterwards he proceeded to tax the clergy, who had been hitherto exempt from taxation. This step, the least of his wrong-doings, brought him into conflict with Pope Boniface VIII.

Boniface was the last of the series of magnificent and imperious Popes who exercised



sovereign power as lords paramount over kings. For more than two centuries the Papal authority had been asserted triumphantly. The subordination of kings and emperors to the Pope as Vicar of Christ was accepted as a maxim. But already in the days of Boniface there were signs of change. The improved order of government in France and elsewhere, the discovery and study of ancient law, the advancing civilisation of the laity, the failing self-denial of the clergy, combined to weaken the dominance of the spiritual arms which were wielded by the Roman Pontiff; and the frantic vehemence with which Boniface re-asserted the claims of his predecessors, precipitated a crisis which was fatal to him. He was prompt in remonstrating with Philip against the imposition of taxes on the clergy; and the king was willing for the time to agree to a compromise. A new dispute arose, in which Boniface was the aggressor. He appointed as Papal Legate a bishop whom Philip had good reason to dislike; who had already shewn disrespect to his royal authority. The quarrel was pushed to extremities on both sides. Philip laid hands on the Legate, and put him in prison. The Pope excommunicated Philip, together with

all his supporters. Many times before, this sentence had been sufficient to bring to their knees the haughtiest adversaries of the Roman Court ; but Philip retorted by charges of indefinite nature against Boniface, and dared to summon the Pope to appear and defend himself before a council of the clergy to be held at Lyons. Boniface treated this unprecedented summons with scorn, but the king was in earnest. An armed party of men was sent to bring him by force to trial. They found the Pope in his castle at Anagni. A violent scene followed, in which, after high words on both sides, the aged Pope was struck in the face with a gauntlet. He was rescued from the French by a rising of the citizens of Anagni, but he only survived for a few days. The excitement and humiliation which he had undergone threw him into a fever, and he died raving.

The influence of Philip in the College of Cardinals was so great, notwithstanding this scandal, that he obtained, a few years later, the election of a prelate devoted to him, the Bishop of Bordeaux, who ascended the Papal chair under the title of Clement V. Between him and the king a nefarious contract was said to

have been made before his election; that he should grant to the king for five years a tithe of the revenues of the clergy, and render him a service of great importance, to be specified by Philip at the proper time. The popular form of this story, that the agreement between the king and the Bishop of Bordeaux took place at a certain interview in a wood, may have been embellished by tradition; but the subsequent actions of Clement are so much in harmony with the alleged contract, that its essential truth seems to be beyond question. He took an early occasion to leave Rome, and fixed his residence at Avignon. He shewed his readiness to aid Philip in his extortions. In due time the king specified the important service which he required; and when it came to light, its previous secrecy was not to be wondered at. It was, that the Pope should use his spiritual authority over the Order of Knights Templars, to enable Philip to suppress them, and confiscate their enormous wealth. When the plan was fully developed, and only then, Clement became aware of the atrocious crime in which he was pledged to be an accomplice. Then his nature, base and avaricious as it was, shrank

from the degradation into which he was drawn. But he was in Philip's power, and the king carried out his scheme to the bitter end.

The Order of the Knights of the Temple had been founded for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre soon after the first Crusade. Its rules, drawn up by St. Bernard, bound the members by vows of a semi-monastic character. They enjoyed thus the double reputation of chivalry and sanctity. Illustrious among the Crusaders for knightly accomplishments, and invested with peculiar dignity in respect of the sacred charge to which they were devoted, they were held in veneration throughout Europe, and admission to the Order was accounted a high privilege. It followed as a natural consequence, that the Templars were no less distinguished for their pride than for their valour. The rites of initiation were hidden from vulgar eyes, and were conducted with much solemn and mysterious symbolism.

Philip availed himself of the privacy in which the chapters of the Order were held, to fasten upon the Templars all manner of foul accusations. Wretches were found who had been expelled from the Order for unworthy conduct, and re-

venged themselves by charges of secret profanity, immorality, and treason. On these charges a multitude of the knights were arrested, imprisoned, and put to the torture. Some in their agony confessed everything of which they were accused. The Grand Master, Jacques du Molay, with the chief officers of the Order, endured horrible cruelties without swerving in their protestation of innocence; and those who had confessed to monstrous and incredible crimes, withdrew their confession afterwards. They were all condemned. Those who refused to confess, and those who retracted their confession, were burnt alive. The rest, in number 15,000, were either sentenced to long imprisonment, or else turned adrift upon the world, despoiled of their property. It was their wealth more than any crime, real or supposed, which brought destruction upon the Templars. The Order had been endowed with special privileges, and was not subject to regal jurisdiction, except with the consent of the Holy See. Hence the concurrence of the Pope with Philip was necessary, to carry out his plans without violating the forms of the law.

Du Molay was burnt by a slow fire at Paris, on the island where the statue of Henry IV.

now stands. With his dying breath he solemnly cited the pope and the king to answer before God for their conspiracy against him. Both Clement and Philip actually died within a year, Philip in the prime of manhood, but prematurely aged by trouble and shame in his own family.

The popes who resided at Avignon were noted for more than ordinary covetousness and luxury. John XXII, for instance, felt the zeal of the religious orders to be an implied reproach of his own voluptuous manner of life, and rebuked the Franciscans for teaching that the life of Christ and the Apostles was a life of poverty. The same pontiff afterwards fell under the suspicion of heretical doctrine concerning the future state of the saints, indulging in speculations which were condemned by his successor.

Thus for about a century the religious influence of the Church, as exercised through the highest official channels, was almost suspended. Meanwhile spasmodic movements of enthusiasm became more common. In France and elsewhere many pious brotherhoods arose, whose zeal for reform soon turned to fanaticism under the hard pressure of the Inquisition. Of these it is not possible to ascertain the exact truth. After

suffering in life the utmost that the malignity of persecutors could inflict, they underwent after death a posthumous martyrdom, by the blackening of their fair fame, through calumnies which no voice was permitted to disprove. The authority of the Church and the authority of the Crown were combined against them.

The return of the popes to Rome might have been expected to restore them to independence and power. But the immediate effect was to diminish still more their authority, previously much impaired; for the departure from Avignon was followed by a schism, which divided the allegiance of the Church between rival popes from 1378 to 1417. The French clergy were unwilling to let go the advantage which they had gained by having for pope one of themselves residing among them; and those members of the College of Cardinals who were in the interest of France, elected a succession of popes, who resided at Avignon, and denounced the Roman popes as usurpers.

Councils were held at Pisa and at Constance to terminate the schism. At the latter Council the ruling mind was that of John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris. To Gerson has

been ascribed, with some degree of probability, the authorship of the anonymous work, "*De Imitatione Christi*," the most universally popular religious book ever published. He was a man whose piety and learning were combined with distinguished talents as an ecclesiastical politician. He was a resolute champion of the liberties of the Church, maintaining that the Church must of necessity have the power that every other society has, of removing an unfit chief officer, and putting another in his place. He declared that a Council is superior to the pope "in authority, in dignity, and in office." The first object of the Council, he said at the opening of the sittings, "is the election of one universal and unquestioned pastor: the next is, to limit and modify his power, which is at present excessive."

The resolutions of the Council were in harmony with these views. The reigning pope, John XXIII, who had formerly been a pirate, and had passed through a strange course of wild experiences, was deposed; his rival at Avignon was also deposed, and Martin V. was accepted as pope by the reunited Western Church.

Memorable as closing the great schism of the West, and also as asserting the principle of the



subordination of the see of Rome to a general Council, the Council of Constance is not less memorable, unhappily, for a great crime committed with its sanction. The gentle and accomplished John Huss, whose studies had led him to anticipate the doctrines of the Reformers, was burnt in violation of a safe conduct granted to him by the emperor.

During the remainder of the fifteenth century the ecclesiastical history of France was uneventful. The people suffered great misery for many years during the English wars and the contests of rival nobles. At length, when the Maid of Orleans saw her vision fulfilled by the coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims, the royal power in France not only revived, but increased to a height beyond previous example. Charles and his son Louis XI. laboured patiently for the extension of monarchical power in France, both in relation to the feudal baronage and to the clergy. The Italian wars of the subsequent kings contributed to establish this power still more firmly; and in 1516 Francis I. concluded with the pope a concordat at Bologna, by which the appointment of bishops was taken from cathedral chapters, and transferred to the Crown.

The Bologna concordat was made soon after the victory of Francis at Marignano, which gave him for a time a commanding position in Italy, and enabled him to negotiate with the pope on advantageous terms. He desired to extend over the Church a sovereignty which his predecessors had already gained over the nobles of the kingdom. Feudalism was dying out, with its incessant wars and petty tyranny. The government was becoming concentrated in the hands of powerful monarchs; and the great divisions of Europe—France, Spain, Germany—took the form which they have in general retained since; while on the other hand the duchies and counties, which were of great importance in the Middle Ages, lost their independence. The change which was passing over the Continent could not fail to affect the bishops, who held their large estates by a tenure which involved the rights and obligations of the feudal system. Most of all, the popes felt the growing development of the royal authority as tending to diminish their own. Hildebrand's theory of a sovereignty inherent in the Roman pontiff as king of kings became obsolete, and ceased to have much influence in politics. At the beginning of the

sixteenth century the popes were only too ready to commute their indefinite spiritual pretensions for money payments. Thus Francis I. bought the papal permission to destroy liberty of election in the Gallican Church, and to appropriate to the Crown the nomination of bishops. A royal supremacy, analogous to that which Henry VIII. of England assumed to himself in spite of the pope, was established in France by his contemporary and rival, with the pope's corrupt sanction.

## VI.—THE HUGUENOTS.

FRANCE was the scene of the earliest movement which was made in the Church towards reformation; and the circumstances of that movement and its suppression left a permanent trace in the history of religious thought ever afterwards. The rise and fall of the Albigenses, in the 12th and 13th centuries, brought into strong antagonism two opposite elements of national character, till then comparatively undeveloped; the love of freedom of speech, and the love of system in government. There was little resemblance between the principles of the Albigenses and those of the Protestant Reformers. The Albigenses attacked the Church from a sceptical point of view; their appeal was not to the Bible, but to human reason; and we find throughout French history that the Church has been most frequently and most effectively attacked on this side. On the other hand, the terrific slaughter with which the Albigensian heresy was put down had the effect of intimidating the adversaries of the Church long

afterwards, and making them resort to artifices and subterfuges, if they dared speak against their ecclesiastical rulers. More in France than in other countries, the free-thinkers were jesters, hiding their intention under a mask of satirical pleasantry. Rabelais is the first important example of a mocking spirit, which is characteristic of a large part of French literature. Kings and nobles loved to be amused; and while they laughed at the satirist's buffoonery, they little thought how deep his arrows pierced.

Another movement of reform emanating from France, that of the Waldenses or Vaudois, was of a very different type. Their principal leader Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, was moved to protest against the doctrinal and moral corruption of the Church, in a spirit akin to that of Wycliffe and Luther. But the Vaudois, few in number, and secluded from the world in the Piedmontese valleys, in which they took refuge from persecution, had a difficult struggle for existence, and contributed little to the progress of religious opinion in France. It was not till the Reformation in Germany had inflamed all Europe, that the French people gave any serious attention to the doctrines of the Reformers. The name

Huguenot, early given to the Protestants in France, indicates their German origin, being derived from the German word Eidgenossen, Confederates.

Nevertheless, a native of France did more than any other man to give a definite form to Protestant theology, not only in his own land, but elsewhere. John Calvin was born in Picardy in 1509, a few years before Luther took the momentous step of denouncing the sale of indulgences. He was at first destined by his father for the Church, and afterwards for the Law. In the course of his legal studies at Paris he embraced the reformed doctrines, and began to elaborate in secret the profound and comprehensive work which he afterwards published under the title of "Institutes of the Christian Religion." The first edition of this treatise was published in 1536, but he continued to enlarge it in subsequent editions, and it was not till 1559 that it was brought to its completion.

Calvin could not safely remain in France. He wandered from city to city in peril of his life, visiting Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. At length he fixed his residence in the city of Geneva, where he was allowed to put in practice

his theories of Church government. Geneva became the head-quarters of Protestant refugees, and Calvin was in constant communication with the Huguenot leaders throughout the remainder of his life. Among his friends were the high-souled Queen of Navarre, Jeanné d'Albret, and the Duchess Renée of Ferrara. His influence, however, was perhaps greatest on the Reformers from England and Scotland. The English Puritans and the Scotch Presbyterians were either avowed disciples of Calvin, or at all events deeply imbued by his opinions.

Calvinism is in modern times chiefly understood to mean a certain system of doctrine on the mysterious subject of grace and free-will. For Calvin laid especial stress on the depravity of human nature, and the necessity of Divine grace. Yet his teaching on this subject was not more characteristic than on some others. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of his theological doctrine, was the strictness with which he referred all questions to the Bible, and the Bible alone. The most distinctive feature of his method of discipline was the rejection of Bishops, and the appointment of presbyteries, in which lay elders and ministers sat together. There was a clearness

and coherence in Calvin's theological system, which was congenial to the French mind, and the adoption of his views by the Reformers in France was so general, that Protestant, Huguenot, and Calvinist became equivalent terms in popular estimation.

Henry II, who succeeded his father Francis I, was on bad terms with the Pope, who had summoned a Council without asking his leave for the French clergy to attend. He was therefore indifferent to the spread of the reformed doctrines for a considerable time, during which they made rapid progress, especially among the students and lawyers of Paris. One of the latter, Dubourg, offended the king by the frankness, characteristic of the early Reformers, with which he spoke in the royal presence of the bad example of the Court. Henry vowed that he would have his life, and Dubourg was eventually put to death as a heretic and a traitor. But between his trial and the execution of the sentence, Henry himself was accidentally killed in a tournament.

Three sons, feeble in body and mind, followed Henry in succession upon the throne of France, namely, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III. During their reigns Antony of Bourbon, king of



Navarre, began to cast an expectant eye on the throne, to which he was the presumptive heir, being descended from a younger son of St. Louis. In opposition to him stood the princes of the House of Guise, who boasted that the blood of Charlemagne ran in their veins, and who had obtained by their political and military talents a position near the throne, resembling that of the ancient Mayors of the Palace. Bourbon had embraced Protestant doctrines; the Guises were champions of the Church of Rome. Thus the religious questions which agitated Europe in that period were associated in France, more distinctly than elsewhere, with a political and personal rivalry, which soon plunged the country in a destructive civil war.

The Queen Mother, Catherine de Medicis, who practically governed France in the name of her incapable sons, made it her study to balance the two religious parties against each other. With this object she took measures to keep on good terms with the Huguenots, and even wrote to the Pope requesting toleration for them. Her overtures were seconded by the wise and patriotic Chancellor L'Hôpital, who desired peace in the interest of the nation, as much as the Queen

desired it in the interest of her own family. A conference was held at Poissy in 1560, through the exertions of the Queen and the Chancellor, with the hope of reconciling the differences between Catholics and Protestants. The Cardinal of Lorraine disputed publicly with Theodore Beza on the chief points at issue; but the two parties separated in anger, more bitterly at variance than ever.

The year 1563 is memorable as the date at which the Council of Trent brought its prolonged sessions to a conclusion. The French clergy, who had been forbidden to attend when the Council was opened twenty years before, took an active part in the deliberations towards the close; and the Articles of Faith drawn up by the Council were accepted in France as an authoritative definition of doctrine. Not so, however, the Canons concerning Church government, which were passed somewhat hurriedly when many of the French bishops had left. The Parliament of Paris protested against these Canons, as infringing upon the national liberties; and they continued to be a standing cause of contention between the Gallican Church and that of Rome. By the decrees of the Council

of Trent, the Protestant doctrines, which had hitherto been open subjects of dispute, were formally condemned as heretical. The possibility of reconciliation was thus at an end, and civil war broke out again. The relations of parties had changed since Catherine had wished for toleration of the Huguenots. The Guises and the Court were now closely allied, notwithstanding their mutual jealousy, and Francis Duke of Guise commanded the royal army.

At the head of the Huguenots were the King of Navarre, and his brother the Duke of Condé. But the ablest man on their side was Admiral Coligny, a man of venerable character, a Protestant not only by partisanship but by deep religious conviction. He long refrained from taking up arms, and was with difficulty urged by his wife to put his great military experience and skill at the service of the Protestants, foreseeing the miseries which the war would bring on France, and on his own family. His firmness preserved the Huguenots again and again from crushing defeats. At Dreux, at St. Denis, at Jarnac, and at Moncontour, the royal armies gained the day, and on each occasion the unbroken order in which Coligny conducted his retreating

forces made the victory fruitless, and enabled the Huguenots to show an unconquered front to their enemies soon afterwards. His party were deprived of his invaluable services by the dark and treacherous plot which took effect on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572. Enticed to Paris by fair promises of peace, he was murdered in his bed on the morning of the massacre.

Catherine detached young Henry of Navarre from his party about the same time, by giving to him in marriage her daughter Margaret. The promises were forgotten which he had made on his father's death, when his intrepid mother Jeanne d'Albret brought him forward to lead the Protestants; and their cause appeared to be desperate. Yet they drew fresh strength from adversity. The crime of St. Bartholomew's day, in the guilt of which the king and the pope were involved—the king by his actual participation in the bloodshed, the pope by his approval afterwards—alienated many honest men from their side. Danger gave to the Huguenots more resolute courage; and the mistrust which subsisted between the king and the House of Guise divided the Catholics. The famous League, which was formed by the Guises and their adherents for the

ostensible purpose of defending the Church, assumed an aspect so dangerous to the Court, that Catherine turned again to the Protestants whom she had lately helped to destroy, and was glad to make large concessions in order to gain their alliance.

On a sudden the whole web of intrigue was torn asunder, and the state of affairs totally changed, by the death of the two foremost men in the kingdom. The assassination of Henry of Guise, followed by that of the king, left the throne open to Henry of Navarre. He was at the time under sentence of excommunication, for having relapsed from the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless he was accepted as king by the majority of the French people, to whom all his faults were condoned by his daring valour and good humour.

The accession of Henri Quatre, like that of his contemporary Elizabeth of England, was a turning-point in the religious history of the nation over which he ruled. Between the two sovereigns there are several points of resemblance. Both were brought up among the Reformers; both were indifferent to the doctrinal controversies of the time, and inclined by temperament to the Roman form of worship; both were led by policy rather

than by conscience in their final decision. The opposite character of the two nations led the French King to make an opposite choice to that of the English Queen, forsaking the associates of his youth and his comrades in arms. The Huguenots were probably not more than a tenth of the population. Protestant doctrines had taken more hold of the intelligence than of the affections of the people. During the wars of religion, the cruelty of some of the Huguenot leaders had rivalled that of their enemies, and made their cause unpopular. On the other hand, the Catholics had regained confidence and zeal since the Council of Trent, and Henry saw no course so likely to give peace to the kingdom as to seek reconciliation with Rome.

He announced his willingness to reconsider the questions at issue between Catholics and Protestants: and a public controversy took place between Du Perron and Du Plessis Mornay, similar to that which had been held between the Cardinal of Lorraine and Beza. Du Plessis Mornay had published a treatise on the Eucharist, which was a standard work among the Protestants, and was severely criticised by Perron, as being full of mistakes and misquotations. In

the public dispute Perron's more accurate learning obtained for him a decided advantage. Mornay's character as a Christian and as a statesman stood deservedly high; but his mind was comprehensive rather than exact. He had relied on doubtful authorities, and was convicted of several errors. But it was not by this discussion that Henry was really induced to change his religious profession. The reasons for his conversion are to be sought rather in the sceptical philosophy of Montaigne than in the theology of Perron. Henry's own saying, "Paris is well worth a mass," sums up his motives in a single phrase.

His levity was too much reflected by the general sentiment of the French people. Probably the chief cause, why the Reformed faith struck comparatively little root in France, was that the people in general had no sympathy with the grave moral earnestness which was characteristic of the Protestants. Calvinism appealed to profound intellects and to democratic aspirations: it found adherents among scholars and lawyers, and among the discontented who hoped for a revolution both in Church and State. But the sober austerity of the Protestant form of worship and manner of life was distasteful to the nation at

large. They could admire the ascetic extravagance of Bernard and the Franciscans, far more easily than the seriousness of Protestantism, with its simplicity of ritual, its cultivation of the virtues of family life, and its disapproval of light pleasures.

Always prone to extremes, the French nation seems never to have entertained the possibility of a reformed National Church, based on ancient principles. The practical choice lay between Romanism and Calvinism, each in its most extreme form.

In religious controversy, as in a battle, a slight preponderance of strength at a decisive movement suffices to give complete victory to one side, and to the other irretrievable defeat. So in France, notwithstanding the ability and worth of several leaders of the Protestants, the scale of public sentiment turned against them, and with Henry's reconciliation to the church of Rome the cause of the Reformation was lost. While the gravity of the moral tone of the Protestants was an obstacle to the reception of their doctrines among the mass of the people, speculative minds in France were apt to be impatient of the reverence of the Protestants for the Bible; and having thrown off the yoke of Papal authority,



rejected the authority of the Scriptures also. Thus, although many fair opportunities were given to the Reformed principles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they failed to prosper. During the time of the English civil wars, when the Calvinists who formed the bulk of the republican party were gaining ascendancy in England, the wars of the Fronde in France might have been no less advantageous to the Huguenots, if the nation had any extensive sympathy with their cause. As it was, the Fronde began and ended without results, the most frivolous and unmeaning of quarrels in which blood was ever shed. It happened also that, during four successive generations, the ablest military captains in France were Protestants: Coligny, Henry IV, Turenne, Schomberg. Yet the cause of the Huguenots was not greatly advanced by any of these except the first. Henry deserted his party, Turenne was converted from Protestantism by Bossuet, Schomberg resigned his commission rather than follow Turenne's example.

In separating himself from the Huguenots, Henry was careful to provide for them complete religious toleration. The edict of Nantes secured their freedom of worship, and they continued for

nearly a hundred years to be among the bravest, most intelligent, and most industrious of the subjects of the French crown. In the central and western parts of France they were sufficiently numerous to be able to resist any attempt of the government to encroach on the liberties which were guaranteed to them by Henry IV. They held the city of Rochelle, and the possession of this stronghold enabled them to make terms with Richelieu. His conduct towards the Huguenots was a notable contrast to that of Strafford about the same time towards the Puritans. By a policy vigorous and yet tolerant, he gained possession of Rochelle, and averted the horrors of another religious war.

In an evil hour for France, Louis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantes, and deprived the Protestants of the toleration and liberty of worship which had been exercised by them. Yet no popular indignation was aroused by his tyrannical conduct, nor by the brutality with which he strove to coerce the Protestants. He sent dragoons to be quartered in the districts where they were most numerous, with instructions to treat them harshly, only sparing life. These "booted missionaries" as Louis called them, made the lives of the

Huguenots so intolerable by their cruelty and licentiousness, that thousands of so-called conversions were reported. In 1685 the Protestant worship was prohibited, and a large emigration took place which deprived the king of a hundred thousand of his best subjects. England received a large share of the benefits of this emigration. Some of the bravest soldiers in the army of William III. were, like Schomberg, Protestant refugees. The Romillys, Lefevres, and Martineaus are among the many distinguished English families which spring from a Huguenot stock.

Those who could not emigrate, and would not submit to abandon their faith and worship, waged a desultory war for many years in the hilly district of Cevennes. Several Marshals of France were foiled by these undisciplined and ill-provided, but desperate men. At length Villars obtained by pacific overtures the success which other commanders had not been able to win by force of arms. The leader of the Camisards, as they were called, a young man named Cavalier, was induced to accept a commission in the French army. There, however, he found himself in a false position. Eventually he took military service in England, and died a pensioner in Chelsea Hospital.

## VII.—CATHOLIC REACTION.

IN the earlier days of the conflict between the Catholics and the Huguenots, when the question was in suspense, what was to be the established religion in France, the scale was turned in favour of the Catholic party, mainly by means of the devoted and unscrupulous partisanship of the Jesuits. This order was first organized in Paris, although the original members were nearly all of Spanish birth. Ignatius Loyola, whose chivalrous and vehement nature had been deflected by a severe illness from earthly to spiritual warfare, conceived the design of a society of men who should be ready to go anywhere and do anything at the word of command of the Pope. His idea was to restore the tottering fabric of the Church by the help of a body, whose disciplined obedience should work like that of an army. A few companions, who shared his enthusiasm, met together on the 15th of August, 1534, in the crypt of the Abbey of Montmartre, the traditional site of the martyrdom of St. Denis. One of the little fraternity was Francis Xavier, whose won-

derful career as a missionary in India and China proved to the world that the same spirit, which had carried the Apostles and their successors through perils and hardships, was not extinct in the Church. Another was Laynez, who, succeeding Loyola as master of the order, lived to see its branches overspread Europe and America, casting earlier religious orders into the shade. From the first meeting of the little fraternity, Loyola insisted on the name by which it was afterwards to be known, the Order of Jesus. He expressed by this sacred name not only the religious devotion but the comprehensiveness of his society. It was to be the embodiment of the Christian faith, not merely one order among many, but the representative order of Christendom.

Self-denial was an essential part of the Jesuit rule, as it was in that of the monastic orders. But it took a peculiar form. The Jesuits were under no vows of poverty, nor were they pledged to withdraw from the business or pleasures of the world. In many cases they engaged in commerce. Their discipline was comprised in the simple rule of obedience; but the obedience to which they were pledged was absolute, an entire

surrender of their will to the bidding of superior authority. So the society worked together with perfect unity of purpose. Thousands of active minds and persuasive tongues were ready to enforce the dictates of the Pope, with a promptitude to which the discipline of an army offers an inadequate comparison, whether it might be to risk their lives in plots against the Queen of England, or to train up a new school of theologians in the colleges of France.

The difficulties against which the Jesuits contended were enormous. Not only did they encounter hostility in Protestant countries, as was to be expected; but even among the Catholics they were objects of suspicion and jealous enmity. Their unqualified subjection, to the Pope and the Pope alone, made them obnoxious to Churchmen who valued the ancient liberties of the Church, and to politicians who maintained the rights of the State. With the divines of the Sorbonne they were engaged in an interminable controversy on questions affecting the limits of Papal authority. The Jesuits were accused by their adversaries of teaching, that princes deposed by the Pope lost their claim to the allegiance of their subjects, and might be murdered with impunity. This charge,

never satisfactorily refuted, caused at intervals a storm of popular fury against them, such as that which led to the banishment of the order from France, after the murder of Henry III. by Clement.

Contrary to the advice of his counsellors, Henry IV. recalled the Jesuits a few years later. Observing that they had enlisted in their service many of the ablest men in the kingdom, he resolved, with soldierly simplicity, to avail himself as much as possible of their help. One important stipulation he made, which turned greatly to their advantage. He required that a Jesuit preacher should reside at Court to be answerable for the good conduct of his brethren. The preacher selected, Father Coton, succeeded in gaining the confidence of the King, became his confessor, and established a secret influence at Court which was thenceforward an important element in the policy of the French kings. A series of Jesuit confessors directed the conscience of Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV.

In the conflicts which the ambition of the Jesuits provoked with other bodies, civil and ecclesiastical, they showed all the tenacity and persistence which distinguish well-trained soldiers

from volunteers. Defeated for a time, they brought up fresh forces until they wore out their adversaries.

Edmond Richer, an eminent theologian of the University of Paris, wrote and spoke much in favour of the authority of the Church, as expressed in general Councils, against the Jesuit doctrine of Papal absolutism. He thereby drew upon himself the implacable hostility of the Order. His high character and splendid talents gave him a temporary prestige; but in the end he was deprived of his professorship.

On the meeting of the States General, in 1614, the Commons or Third Estate objected to the decrees of the Council of Trent as violating national liberties. They asserted that no power on earth has a right to depose sovereigns, in opposition to a treatise lately written by the Jesuit Suarez against James I. of England. During this discussion Richelieu made his first public appearance, and delivered a speech of admirable tact and judgment. The debate was inconclusive, and on the whole led the Jesuits to regard the States General as unfavourable to the Papal claims. Thenceforward their Court influence was exerted to prevent the reassembling



of the States General. The States were not convoked again until the end of the following century, when the despotism which the Jesuits fostered had run its full course, and brought the nation to the verge of a gulf into which the Throne and the Church were precipitated.

Of the high aims and sincerity of the founders of the Society of Jesus there can be no doubt. But the lapse of time, and the exigencies of the course to which they committed themselves, drew their successors more and more into a worldly policy. They forgot their ultimate end, and magnified the subsidiary means which they had chosen, above the end itself. The Jesuit train of reasoning appears to have been something of this kind: Christ is to be served by serving His Church: the Church is best served by strengthening the hands of the Pope: the Pope's hands are strengthened by making the Jesuit society powerful. So the aggrandisement of their own order, originally sought as a means of serving Christ, became at no distant period the absorbing object to which they sacrificed body and soul. The zeal which was kindled by contemplation of the higher object was used to promote the lower. To make the society powerful, they betrayed the very cause

to which the society owed its existence. The pure religion of Christ was degraded by Jesuit theology into superstitious formalism. The principles on which the Catholic Church was based were corrupted by Jesuit political philosophy. Even the Popes, to whom the Jesuits professed entire devotion, found in them a body-guard of ecclesiastical Janissaries whom they dared not offend.

These characteristics of the society were displayed conspicuously in the long contest between the Jesuits and Jansenists. It is true that the Jansenist controversy involved several religious and moral questions of great intrinsic importance: but the part which the Jesuits took in it is hardly intelligible, without the explanation supplied by their peculiar love of power, and the persistency with which they opposed every influence which was not under their control.

Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, who had devoted almost a lifetime to the study of the works of St. Augustine, left at his death an elaborate treatise entitled "*Augustinus*," in which he professed to expound the theology of that Father. His treatise had special reference to the abstruse question of predestination and free-will. The question had

profoundly agitated the Church at the time of the Pelagian heresy. But it had been long at rest; and the authority of Augustine was universally accepted as conclusive on the subject. Meanwhile the course of religious thought in the Church had insensibly swerved away not a little from that into which Augustine was led; and when Luther and Calvin, treading in Augustine's steps, wrote of grace and predestination in terms which almost nullified the action of the human will, Roman theologians were inclined to take the opposite side. The recognition of the will, with a view to its control, was a prominent part of the Jesuit system; and they were apt to assert the freedom of the will in terms which resembled those of the Semi-Pelagians whom Augustine opposed. Nevertheless they were unwilling to admit that their teaching differed from his. What they set themselves to prove, therefore, was (1) that the teaching of Jansenius was not that of Augustine; and (2) that the teaching of Jansenius was heretical.

A powerful array of writers arose to defend the book. To men of contemplative minds there has been, under various forms of religious profession, a peculiar attraction in ideas like those of

Jansenius. The effects of Divine grace in the human soul, the conscious emotions of spiritual life, found little or no place in the Jesuit system, apart from the use of ecclesiastical ordinances. These emotions inspired a company of men whose names are chiefly associated with the Abbey of Port-Royal: Arnauld, Pascal, and others, who gave a new impulse to French theological literature. It was asserted by the enemies of the Jansenists, that they were Calvinists in disguise. The charge, though honestly disclaimed, was not without foundation; for the spirit which Calvin derived from Augustine reappeared in a modified form in Jansenism.

Probably the metaphysical controversy between Jesuits and Jansenists would have excited far less attention, if it had not been entangled with a moral question which came home to the conscience of every man. Antoine Arnauld, the most conspicuous of the Jansenists, a doctor of the Sorbonne and a man of rare elevation of character, published a treatise on Frequent Communion, in which he censured the laxity of the Jesuits in dealing with penitents of high rank. He held that in cases of grave transgression, some time must elapse, after confession, before

absolution and restoration to communion should be granted. The Jesuits looked mainly to outward conformity with the regulations of the Church. Guided by a politic skill in adapting their demands to the temperament of the persons with whom they had to deal, they were indulgent to the free-living gentlemen and ladies of the Court who came to them for confession and direction. Arnauld, whose family had already given offence to the Jesuits, became an object of their unrelenting hostility, and they pursued him under various pretexts until they had obtained his deprivation from all his degrees, together with that of sixty doctors who had taken his part.

The chief battle-field of the Jansenist controversy was five propositions, said to be taken from the writings of Jansenius. These five propositions, after prolonged dispute, were laid before the Pope, and formally condemned by him as heretical. Having been so far defeated, the Jansenists raised a new issue, contending that these propositions were not to be found in the writings of Jansenius. On the question of doctrine, they bowed to the Papal sentence as infallible ; but on the question of fact, whether Jansenius taught these heretical doctrines or no, they claimed the

right to use their own intelligence. Eventually the Jansenists gave way on this point also, and peace was restored to the Church in 1662 after twenty years' agitation. They submitted to the Papal decrees. Nevertheless they continued to exist as a party, powerful through the ability and earnestness of the members; and the profound divergence of their religious ideas from those of the Jesuits led to fresh disputes, which lasted far into the eighteenth century. Dogma and sentiment, the spirit of Dominic and the spirit of Francis, were represented by the two sides, and their antagonism did much to undermine the Church, and put weapons in the hands of the enemies of all religion.

The Jesuits followed up their success against the Jansenists by a persecution of those religious houses which were under Jansenist influence. Memorable among these was Port Royal, a Benedictine foundation, which was under a sister of Arnauld, and underwent an extraordinary revival. Angélique Arnauld had been appointed to the office of abbess as a child of eight years. It was nearly ten years afterwards, in 1608, that she was first awakened to the need of reformation in the abbey. Having first solemnly renewed her own

vows, taken when she was too young to understand them, she resolved to enforce the rule of St. Benedict strictly. The sisters were gradually moved to comply with her severe discipline, partly by her force of character, partly by compassion for the spiritual agony through which they saw her passing. The young abbess fell into so deep a melancholy that they offered to do whatever she wished. She demanded of them to fulfil their vow of poverty by giving up their trinkets and private possessions. With some hesitation they consented. A sister who had a little garden of her own in the convent refused to part with it at first, but afterwards brought the key to the abbess. The next step was to raise the convent walls and exclude visitors. The carrying out of this resolution was Angélique's severest trial, for it brought her into conflict with her father and his family, who had been used to be entertained at Port Royal when his Parliamentary duties brought him to Paris. Angélique implored her father not to come, and on his persisting, refused him admittance. She took possession of all the convent keys, and went alone to the wicket where her parents stood outside, bitterly reproaching her. At the close of the interview she fainted

away; but she held firmly to her purpose, and the "Day of the Wicket" marked an epoch in the history of Port Royal.

The example spread. Mère Angélique was invited to assist in the reform of other convents; and the number of applicants for admission to her own became so large that she removed, with eighty-four nuns, to a house bearing the same name in Paris. The disused convent of Port Royal was occupied by Antoine Arnauld and his friends, in a semi-monastic seclusion. During the Jansenist controversy the nuns of Port Royal were associated with the Jansenists, not only through their abbess, but still more through the influence of their confessor, the Abbé de St. Cyran, who was one of the ablest members of the party. The Jesuits, in their hour of victory, made these devoted women feel their power by a vindictive persecution. The sisterhood was dispersed by soldiers, the convent razed to the ground, and the remains of the dead nuns disinterred, in the hope of effacing Port Royal from the memory of man. Mère Angélique died in the midst of this persecution, in 1662.

Outwardly the Jesuits triumphed; yet they received a wound from which their fair fame



never recovered. Blaise Pascal, whose sister Jacqueline was one of the nuns of Port Royal, laid open to the world the chief points of the Jansenist controversy in a series of anonymous letters, which have obtained a lasting celebrity under the title of the "Provincial Letters." His clear intellect presented the subtle and intricate disputes between Arnauld and his adversaries in a form which made them easy to understand; and the world of Paris, always appreciative of wit, was delighted by the fine irony with which he showed that Arnauld's enemies were bent on condemning, not his opinions, but himself. "Such," he said, "is the peculiarity of M. Arnauld, that orthodoxy becomes heresy as soon as he utters it. His opinions are shared by those who condemn him: his fault consists in being himself." But the "Provincial Letters" contain another and more serious element. Pascal combined with a keen faculty of criticism a sensibility of moral feeling which rose to a white heat of indignation at evil. When he passed on from abstract problems of free will, to discuss the immoral casuistry of the Jesuits, his tone changed from raillery to intense emotion. He carefully exposed the subterfuges by which the Divine

Law was set at nought, and rose to a strain of prophetic eloquence as he inveighed against a religious system which ignored the duty of love to God. The effect of his writings, unsurpassed as models of literary style, has been to lay upon the Jesuits a stigma of false morality, which has since become inseparable from their name.

The Jesuits carried to an extraordinary degree of refinement the study of casuistry in morals. In deciding cases of conscience their method was, to lay down a general rule of right conduct, and then to add so many exceptions as left the general principle undermined. Practically the result was, that while truth, justice, loyalty, and charity, were enjoined in general terms, cases were admitted in which these and other primary duties might be violated without sin ; the supreme test of duty in all cases being the probable advantage of the Papal see and the Jesuit order.

Happily for the Church in France, there were not a few men who rivalled the zeal and self-devotion of the Jesuits, with a higher spiritual aim, men to whom the love of Christ in its purest form was a constraining motive. Two such men may be selected as worthy representatives of the great Catholic reaction of the sixteenth century.

Francis de Sales was born in 1567 of a noble house of Savoy; and he continued from an early age to the end of his life to hold the bishopric of Geneva, refusing wealthier preferments. "I will not desert my wife," he said, "because she is poor." Although he did not strictly belong to France by his birth or by his benefice, he was so closely associated with the religious activity of the Church in France that he may properly be reckoned among its members. He was educated at the Jesuit school in Paris. Soon after his ordination he took part in a mission to win back the Calvinists of Geneva to the Roman Catholic Church. The eloquence of his preaching, the gentleness of his manner, and the quiet fortitude with which he endured hardship, were not long in producing a remarkable effect. He made a deep impression on the soldiers who saw and heard him; and the change in their conduct, which followed his ministrations, increased the disposition of the people at large to listen to his preaching. Seventy thousand are said to have been led by him to abjure Calvinism.

The fame of his virtues and talents reached the court of Henry IV, and he was invited to preach before the king, who tried to keep him

at Paris. Henry said of him "Here is a man who never flatters me." During his visits to France, a strong impulse was given by St. Francis de Sales to the reform of the religious orders. The Benedictines of St. Maur applied themselves at his instance to the compilation of the lives of the saints and other voluminous works, which bear testimony to the revival of learned studies among them. The Order of the Visitation was founded by Madame de Chantal under his direction, and numbered seventy-five convents during the lifetime of the foundress.

St. Francis died in 1622. The literary works which he has left, particularly his "Devout Life," give a vivid impression of his mind. No one has presented religion under a more lovely aspect, or shown more tender sympathy with human nature.

Contemporary with St. Francis was Vincent de Paul, who was born in 1576 of humble parents, in the sandy district of the Landes. It was with difficulty that he obtained the means of being educated for the priesthood. Soon after his ordination he was captured by pirates and sold as a slave at Tunis, where his patient cheerfulness gained the affection of his master, a renegade,

and won him back to the Christian faith. They left Tunis together, and after some painful vicissitudes, Vincent was made private tutor to the family of the Duc de Retz. A story has often been told as an illustration of his unselfish character, that he offered himself as a substitute for a galley slave who was the father of a family. His fertile mind and compassionate heart suggested several of the religious and charitable institutions which abound in France. Most popular, perhaps, is the Foundling Hospital. In pictures and images of St. Vincent he is usually to be known by the children clinging to him, and looking up to his pensive kindly face. The society of Sisters of Charity was a more extensive organisation which he had set on foot. He may also be regarded as the founder of parochial Missions; that is, the stirring up of the religious life of a parish by a week or more of frequent services, conducted by preachers of special ability in touching the heart and conscience. Wherever he preached, crowds came to listen, and stayed to make their confession. He gathered round himself a body of like-minded assistants; and the Church of St. Lazare, at Paris, which was the centre of his work, became a College of Mission

Priests. The necessity of preparing these priests for their work impressed itself upon him, and he organized Retreats for clergy, at one of which Bossuet, as a young man, became acquainted with Vincent, whom he described as a man of remarkable charity, gravity, and wisdom, with wonderful simplicity. St. Vincent lived to extreme old age, and accomplished probably as much as any one man towards raising the standard of devotion in the Church.

## VII.—BOSSUET AND FÉNELON.

THE age of Louis XIV. is justly celebrated as a period in which the glory of France reached its zenith. Under no other king had the boundaries of the kingdom been so widely extended. Under none had the military reputation of the French risen so high. Moreover, while the ambassadors of Louis dictated terms to the surrounding states, the literature and arts of France achieved conquests no less brilliant, ruling the tastes and fashions of the rest of Europe. Louis himself, when after a long minority he assumed the direction of affairs, found the nation united and prosperous, and well-disposed to give effect to his ambitious designs. Like an heir entering upon a well-administered estate, he enjoyed the fruits of the prudence and activity of others. Richelieu and Mazarin had established the royal authority on a firm basis; and the intellectual life of the nation, fostered under many difficulties, was ready to break out in luxuriance under the sunshine of royal favour. When it was his pleasure, Louis

knew well how to convey the encouragement which stimulates genius. No sovereign, perhaps, ever gave so much importance to a smile or a frown. The hopes and the fears which he excited by the mere aspect of his royal countenance were sufficient to rouse the meanest of his subjects to enthusiasm, or to plunge the greatest of his ministers in despair. Oratory was among the arts which Louis regarded most favourably; and the Catholic revival of the preceding generation had raised up a number of accomplished preachers, trained in the schools of the Jesuits, of St. Vincent de Paul, and the Benedictines. Thus pulpit eloquence had every opportunity of being developed to the highest perfection. What had been learned in a strict and often ascetic discipline was set forth with the advantages of literary style and elocution. The sermons of this period drew their matter from the earnest meditation of the past time, and their style from the refined culture of the new age, which produced Corneille and Racine, and other poets. Rival parties at Court extolled the close reasoning of the Jesuit Bourdaloue, the impassioned periods of Fléchier, or the finished rhetoric of their younger rival, Mas-



sillon. But the highest place was accorded by common consent to Bossuet, bishop of Meaux.

If intellectual greatness is to be measured by quantity rather than by quality of intellectual force, Bossuet deserves his reputation as the greatest of French divines. He was eminently a representative of the Gallican Church, in his wide theological learning, in his respect for primitive traditions, in his argumentative yet fervid eloquence, in his severe and somewhat pugnacious orthodoxy. That which distinguishes him specially is a certain grasp and velocity of mind. This, with his aquiline features and haughty bearing, suggested to his contemporaries the likeness of an eagle, as fittest to describe his transcendent powers.

In the year 1673, Louis issued an edict by which he claimed that the ancient feudal rights of the crown of France, in respect of vacant sees, should be extended beyond those provinces of the kingdom in which they had been customary, to other more newly acquired provinces. Innocent XI. the reigning pope, opposed this demand, which was made with the haughtiness characteristic of Louis. A strife of nine years followed, which led to the publication of four articles by authority

of the King, declaring the principles of the Gallican Church in relation to the state.

These articles were to the following effect :

1. That the ecclesiastical power has no right over the temporalities of the kingdom.

2. That a General Council is superior to the Pope, as decided by the Council of Constance.

3. That the exercise of the Papal power should be controlled by canons and local customs.

4. That the judgment of the Pope is not infallible, except when confirmed by the Church.

The King ordered these four articles to be registered by the French Parliament, and compelled the professors at the Universities to subscribe them.

Bossuet was high in the King's favour, and all-powerful with the clergy, during the prolonged debates which preceded this important declaration. His object was, as he explained in clear language, to assert the temporal independence of kings: the jurisdiction of the episcopate, as derived immediately from Christ: and the authority of Councils. While maintaining the old doctrines of the Gallican Church in these three particulars, he was studious to avoid offence to the See of Rome. That was impossible; nevertheless, the

Pope feared to resent the claims of the French clergy, when supported by a monarch so powerful and arbitrary as Louis. The defence of the declaration of the clergy by Bossuet, which was not published until after his death, remained uncensored and unanswered.

The logic of Bossuet was a controversial weapon which could pierce far stronger armour than that in which the champions of Rome arrayed themselves. It is evident, however, that the show of independence which is made in the four articles of the Gallican clergy, is much more specious than real. If the King allowed them to refer to the ancient liberties of the Church in order to humiliate the Pope, he had no intention of giving to those liberties any substantial existence. Hence, the part which Bossuet played, though ostensibly that of a Churchman of the primitive type, was very different in fact. He was serving the King rather than the Church in his convincing appeals to antiquity. Of this practical result of his arguments he can hardly have been unaware. With all Bossuet's eminent qualities, he could not rise above the circumstances of his position at the court of a king whose despotism resembled that of a Sultan. Even as a preacher he failed to

sustain the character of apostolic dignity which he assumed. There was a subtle flattery in the apparent frankness with which he set before the great monarch the truth of his mortality. While he declaimed with stately eloquence on the majesty of God as King of kings, his hearers were led insidiously to feel, not so much that monarchs were responsible before God, as that they were irresponsible before man. His funeral oration on Maria Theresa, the ill-used queen of Louis, concludes with an address to the Dauphin which is sullied by unworthy adulation of the king.

“Listen to the solemn words which St. Gregory Nazianzen, addressed to princes. Respect your purple, he said, respect your power which comes from God, and employ it only for good. Know how much is entrusted to you, and the great mystery which God fulfils in you. He reserves to Himself the things above; but He shares with you the things below. Show yourselves gods to your subjects, imitating the divine goodness and munificence. This, your Royal Highness, is what is demanded of you by these earnest desires of all people, these perpetual acclamations which follow you. Ask of God, with Solomon, the wisdom to make you worthy of the love of the people and

the throne of your ancestors; and when you think of your duty, do not fail to consider what you owe to the immortal actions of Louis the Great and the incomparable piety of Maria Theresa."

It was hardly possible at the court of Louis to abstain from this sort of language. Yet one man at least was found, and he the gentlest and most loyal, who feared God even more than he honoured the king. Fénelon, who was tutor to the Duke of Burgundy, son of the Dauphin, was twenty-five years younger than Bossuet. In abilities they were not unequal. In character they were strongly contrasted. If the proverbial name of Bossuet, "eagle of Meaux," be taken to illustrate his character, that of Fénelon may not less appropriately be compared to the dove, emblem of peace and of the Holy Spirit. The sweetness of Fénelon's disposition was tried severely in the education of his little pupil, whose haughty and violent temper boded ill for the future of France, if he should be called to occupy his grandfather's throne. Yet Fénelon succeeded in winning his heart completely. Many of the boy's letters are preserved, like this:—

"I promise to be good and to do whatever M. de Fénelon tells me."

The promises were broken again and again, but the good resolutions were not wasted. By degrees the patience and gentleness of the tutor, the charm of his conversation, and the high standard of duty which he set before the young duke, subdued his passionate outbreaks, and brought to light noble and generous qualities in his character. For his amusement Fénelon wrote many graceful allegories, and the celebrated romance of *Télémaque*, the MS. of which, never intended for the public, was printed surreptitiously, and at once had an enormous circulation. It brought Fénelon into some disfavour, for the picture which he drew of a beneficent and paternal government was unjustly suspected of being intended as a satire upon that of Louis.

Fénelon was the only one of the leading French clergy of his time, who objected to coercion in matters of faith. He took part in the mission which was organized for the conversion of the French Protestants, but refused the assistance of dragoons. Bossuet was not personally concerned in the cruel measures of persecution which accompanied the Revocation of the edict of Nantes; but it appears that he, in common with the rest of the French clergy in general, approved of the Act

of Revocation. Even Antoine Arnauld, the aged Jansenist leader, himself suffering from the effects of religious intolerance, wrote from Brussels justifying the measures taken by the king, though admitting that they were violent. Two of the most notable of the controversial treatises of Bossuet, his Exposition of the Catholic Faith, and his History of the variations of the Protestant Churches, were written specially for the conversion of Protestants, and had great success on their own merits.

Bossuet's many-sided character appears at a disadvantage when compared with the angelic simplicity of Fénelon. The quarrel between the two is among the most interesting passages of the history of the time, throwing as it does a strong light on the state of religion in France, and on the relations of the King to the Church. Notwithstanding the disparity of years there was a warm personal friendship between Bossuet and Fénelon, based on mutual respect and agreement in theology, until a question arose which probed the depths of their nature, and put them asunder. Doctrines which were described under the name of Quietism were introduced into the French Court by the mystic, Madame Guyon. In a strain of ecstatic devotion she set forth as attainable

and desirable a state of mind which dispensed with means of grace, and with acts of obedience, in passive contemplation of God. In some passages she appeared to teach that souls should be indifferent to the alternatives of salvation or perdition, in absolute self-surrender to the Divine will. Ideas of this kind, expressed in florid language, were found in little manuals of prayer which Madame Guyon circulated among the young ladies of the school of St. Cyr, an institution of which Madame de Maintenon was the patroness. The Bishop of Chartres, who was confessor to Madame de Maintenon, thought it necessary to remonstrate with her on the mischief which he saw in such teaching. By his advice Madame Guyon was ordered to discontinue her visits to St. Cyr. She thereupon appealed to Bossuet to intervene in her favour. He carefully examined her books, and pronounced them to be fantastical and unsound. On her persistent entreaty, a commission was appointed to try her doctrines, with the same result. The report of the commission was signed by Bossuet, Fénelon, and two others. About the same time Fénelon was appointed Archbishop of Cambray, and was consecrated by Bossuet, whose influence had ob-



tained this preferment for him. Bossuet and Fénelon were thus on the closest terms of fellowship, and agreed on the question of Quietism, as raised by Madame Guyon's writings.

Shortly afterwards, Bossuet prepared a treatise entitled, "Instructions on Prayer," in which he defined with his usual clearness and skill the nature of prayer, making special reference to the errors of mysticism. He showed his book to Fénelon, who thought it pressed too hardly on Madame Guyon. Enough had been done already, he thought, to refute her, and she had made her submission. Agreeing with Bossuet in the definition of doctrine, he was less rigid in enforcing what he held for truth, and had a much larger charity for the errors of a devout soul. His personal acquaintance with Madame Guyon had led him to believe that her heart was right, however extravagant her notions and language might have been. So he refused to molest her further; and when the unhappy woman was imprisoned, and forbidden access to her friends, he took her part with chivalrous generosity.

In reply to Bossuet's "Instructions on Prayer," Fénelon published his "Explication of the Maxims of the Saints," a work in which he brought to-

gether a mass of mystical theology, from the writings of saints and fathers of the Church, with comments carefully discriminating between sound and unsound mysticism. Fénelon's book was received with admiration by several of the highest authorities in the Church. Its tendency was to vindicate a wider latitude in the expression of religious sentiment than Bossuet was willing to concede. At this stage, the question was brought by Bossuet to the knowledge of the king. The mind of Louis was little disposed by nature to feel sympathy with mystical raptures, or to understand the lofty character of Fénelon. The immediate consequence of his hearing of the matter was, that Fénelon was dismissed at once from the office of tutor to the royal children, and sent in disgrace to Cambray. To be ordered to leave the court, and reside in his own diocese, was a sort of banishment according to the ideas which were then prevalent. But Fénelon was not allowed to rest there. Proceedings were taken to obtain a formal censure of his book. He appealed to Rome, and asked leave from the king to plead his cause in person, which was refused. The Roman theologians hesitated long in coming to a decision, recognizing the high qualities of both disputants,

who continued meanwhile to wage a war of pamphlets. Louis, however, was impatient; and in his arrogance forgot his dignity so far, as to menace the pope with serious consequences if he did not give sentence against Fénelon, and at once.

A papal brief was issued in 1699, pronouncing twenty-three propositions in the Archbishop of Cambray's "Explication" to be erroneous, and likely to mislead. Fénelon bowed submissively, without a murmur, to the judgment of Rome. On hearing that sentence had been given against his work, he ascended the pulpit of his cathedral the same day, and preached on the duty of obedience. He was accustomed to preach without notes; and his sermons, though wanting the literary form which Parisian critics required, were delivered with a fluent eloquence which came from his own heart, and touched the hearts of his hearers. Unlike Arnould, he refrained from prolonging the controversy, nor did any complaint or remonstrance escape from him.

Thus Quietism was subdued, as Calvinism and Jansenism had been subdued, chiefly by the imperious will of Louis XIV. His personal character exercised a power in religious questions, out of

all proportion to his real capacity. Theological opinions of his own he had none, though in a certain sense he became very devout in his old age. His mind, formal and superstitious, was under the direction of his Jesuit confessors, La Chaise and Le Tellier, and was at all times subject to the quiet persuasion of the bigoted Madame de Maintenon. He conceived religion as a system of ceremonial observances, analogous to the etiquette of a court, and the main result of his ecclesiastical government was to cramp and debilitate spiritual life in every form. Speculative thought was crushed under an exact and severe dogmatism, as in the case of the Jansenists. Devout emotion was quelled by cold logic, with the help of the police, as in the case of the Quietists. The Huguenots were bribed or intimidated into submission, excepting those who preferred to breathe a freer air in exile, and were able to escape. The highest intellects in the Church were not suffered to do their best in the service of the Church. One, that of Bossuet, condescended to be a servile minister of royal policy. The other, that of Fénelon, finding no support at Rome against the tyranny of Versailles, bowed meekly to an iniquitous sentence,

and left a clear field for the private counsellors of the king to do as they pleased.

Such as the religion of Louis was, such was that of the court, and for the most part that of the people also; a dull routine of formalism, in which days and hours and ceremonies were regarded more than justice, mercy, and the love of God. The solemn hypocrisy, which is little exaggerated in Molière's *Tartuffe*, lasted until the death of Louis. Then the mask was thrown off, and under the regency of the Duke of Orleans the French court entered upon an orgie of wild and shameless profanity.

## IX.—DOWNFALL OF THE CHURCH.

AT the beginning of the eighteenth century, the old antagonism between free thought and the Church, which dated from the time of the Albigenses, assumed the form of open and active hostility. Science and literature had been to a considerable extent promoted by Churchmen of powerful minds in the previous century. Richelieu and Bossuet, for instance, had been leaders of the intellect of their time. Richelieu founded the French Academy. Bossuet gathered round himself a group of learned and accomplished men, to whom the courtiers gave the name of philosophers. But the clergy of Louis XV's reign produced no successor to Bossuet; and the word philosophy, after his death, acquired a new and special meaning. It came to denote not simply love of science, but contempt for religion.

Two parallel streams of thought proceed side by side, growing deeper and more rapid as the century advances. A scientific spirit of enquiry into the secrets of Nature, astronomy, physics,

zoology, and all other branches of knowledge, is accompanied by a fanatical spirit of hatred against traditional maxims in religion, morals, and politics. The same men who were eminent in the abstract studies of mathematics, patient investigators of scientific problems, men such as D'Alembert, Maupertuis, and Buffon, were also members of a society which held the Christian faith in abhorrence. The worship of Nature and the worship of God were brought into sharp antithesis, and those who were most devoted to the study of science were among the most eager for the destruction of the Church.

Philosophy in France has relied more on form than on substance. The leading members of the philosophical society of the eighteenth century were not the most learned, but those who were most distinguished for literary skill. Voltaire, in virtue of his literary excellence, has commonly been regarded as supreme among the philosophers.

The scientific attainments of Voltaire were not profound, nor was his intellectual power of that high order which marks an epoch in the progress of human thought. But the variety of his talents dazzled his contemporaries, and still excites the wonder of those who read his works. He had

won fame early as an epic and tragic poet, and as a historian of the age of Louis XIV. Turning his keen wit and luminous style to philosophical questions, he produced an effect which was all the greater for the distinction which he had previously won in other fields. He possessed in a superlative degree the agile quality of mind which is popularly called cleverness. With a ready apprehension of the salient points of any subject, he had the art of making difficult questions appear easy. In controversy, he had an unrivalled power of casting ridicule on his opponents. When he exposed the scandals of the Church, and the inhumanity of the law as administered in France, the force of his arguments was greatly enhanced by an easy mocking irony, which inflicted deadly thrusts with a smile. Such a man as Voltaire would have taken a secondary place among the leaders of opinion in England; but the French people, in proportion as they had been callous to the grave protest of the Reformers against the superstitions and corruptions of Rome, were sensitive to the jests by which Voltaire made them ashamed of their religion.

Second to Voltaire in literary eminence, yet in his influence on French society second to no one,



was Jean Jacques, better known by his Christian names than by his surname Rousseau. While the works of Voltaire tended to undermine and destroy the actual fabric of religion and government, by making it an object of derision, Rousseau's chief aim was to trace an ideal of social order, based on affection and sentiment. The power by which he swayed the hearts of men was the power of an imagination, which had nothing in common with his real character. Voltaire, as represented in his portraits, seems to wear the universal sneer which is his chief legacy to mankind. But Rousseau was a medley of contradictions. Personally heartless and base to a degree almost inhuman, he was endowed with a literary genius which could pour out noble sentiments to which he was practically a stranger. His eloquent language enthralled the hearts of high and low. Pity for the poor, for the weak, for the young, sympathy with rural nature and with innocence, found in his writings expression so persuasive, that all classes felt the charm. Court ladies learned from him to sigh for a life of rustic simplicity and genuine affection, such as he described; while he supplied war-cries to the insurgent mob of Paris by his assertion of the natural

rights of man. One phase of the ideas of Rousseau was illustrated, when Queen Marie Antoinette built a group of toy cottages in the park at Trianon, and played at being a villager. Another phase was illustrated, when the tricolor flag superseded the lilies of France, with the republican motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

Among the leaders of the philosophical school were some, in whose eyes the scepticism of Voltaire and the sentiment of Rousseau were too moderate, haters of all religion such as Diderot, who regarded even Deism as bigotry. Except as to their agreement in antipathy to the Church, the philosophers had little concord among themselves. Their mutual envy and detraction amused the literary world of Paris at their expense. They had not the strength which union gives; nor was their movement sustained by any dignity of personal character among the members, whose moral tone was low, even on their own principles. Nevertheless they were valued for the pungent language in which they put the vague discontent and craving of the age. Philosophy became fashionable at most of the courts of Europe. The Emperor Joseph, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Catherine Empress of Russia, professed

themselves disciples of the new school. In the drawing-rooms of Paris, a mixture of science and irreligion was the staple of conversation. Ladies studied algebra, practised dissection, scoffed at the Sacraments, and spoke admiringly of the free manners of the Pacific Islanders. Long before the financial difficulties of the government compelled Louis XVI. to convoke the States General, and so to open the flood-gates of revolution, the hearts of the French people, both men and women, were penetrated to the core with religious infidelity.

The clergy were in no condition to meet the attacks which they were called to undergo. In obedience to the Papal decrees, they had maintained the incompatibility of religion and science; and they continued to do so officially, even when their private studies led them to scientific pursuits. The French Benedictines who edited Newton's *Principia*, appended to the book a formal disclaimer of the theory of the earth's motion, as being opposed to the dogmas to which they were bound to submit. Many of the bishops were avowed sceptics. A trustworthy witness said that perhaps about six—one in twenty—might be sincerely religious men. The

higher clergy were for the most part drawn from the nobility. Even Bossuet's immense services to the Church had not overcome the prejudice of Louis XIV. against admitting a man sprung from the middle class to an archbishopric. In the lax time of the Regency and afterwards, the higher clergy conducted themselves for the most part as courtiers and men of fashion. They were neither self-denying, nor friends of the poor, nor devout, and the little theological learning which they had was out of date. Their influence, far from diminishing the popular dislike of the clergy, served greatly to exasperate it. Cardinal de Rohan, for instance, whose ecclesiastical rank and ancient family placed him in the front of the clerical order, was detected in a profligate court intrigue, a little before the Revolution.

Holy men there were, doubtless, of whom the world in which they lived was not worthy, at this period of religious decline. But such men rarely obtained preferment. They ministered to their flocks in the obscurity of rural parishes, and were removed from the intellectual and political movements of their time. The apparent condition of the Church, like that of the State, depends at any moment on the character of those members who

bear the highest office. The body is judged by the head. A few men, comparatively, when placed in positions of authority, become representatives of their whole order. If they happen to be removed, and governors of a different stamp are put in their place, the character of the whole body seems to be transfigured, although there may be little change in the greater number. So in France the people were the same throughout the various changes of the Revolution; yet, as new sets of men rose to the head of affairs, the nation as a whole seemed to undergo a transformation, in the change from the Monarchy to the Republic, and again from the Republic to the Empire. In fact the same individuals act in a different manner, according to the example which is set by their rulers; for those who are unaffected by the fashion of their time are only a small minority.

When at length the crisis came, which observant men had been anticipating for half a century, the Church fell, not because of one or two errors in the government of the kingdom, not because of any casual outbreak of the people, but because the foundations on which it rested had been suffered to decay. Faith and love seemed almost extinct. The Church had ceased to en-

lighten the ignorant, to comfort the oppressed, to lead men's thoughts to a better world. The weight of ecclesiastical authority was cast into the scale of ignorance against enlightenment, of oppression against liberty, of the rich and powerful against the poor and weak, of the interests of the present life against those of the life to come. By means of the hard repressive policy for which the Jesuits are mainly responsible, freedom was forced out of the Church to ally itself with the enemies of religion. Intellectual life, as represented by such men as Pascal, and spiritual emotion, as represented by such men as Fénelon, had been suppressed within the limits of the Church. Instead of devout Christians, using their intellectual and moral liberty as means of holiness, a generation of infidels had arisen, who so far misconceived the nature of Christianity as to oppose it in the name of liberty, truth, and human brotherhood, seeing that the Church, as they knew it, was hostile to these virtues.

The fall of the Jesuits in 1764 was a premonitory symptom of the coming storm. Two years before, the Parliament of Paris had condemned the Society, as being a political body under the veil of religion, its members being so many sub-

jects lost to their lawful sovereign, and bound to the service of a foreign monarch, the Pope, by an oath of absolute subjection. The Parliaments of Rouen and Toulouse followed the example of Paris. Louis XV. was at the moment privately displeased with his Jesuit confessor, whose indulgence was not all that he desired. Yielding to a strong pressure of public opinion, he issued a decree for the suppression of the Society throughout France. Pope Clement XIII. protested, but his protest only drew upon himself an urgent demand that he should exercise his authority over the Order by abolishing it altogether. The Ambassadors of France, Spain, and Naples presented a joint note to this effect. Clement's health broke down during the negotiations. His successor of the same name reluctantly yielded, and signed a Bull for the suppression of the Order of Jesus, in 1773. A year afterwards Clement XIV. died, under suspicion of poison, crying in his last moments, "Mercy, mercy; I did it on compulsion!"

On the meeting of the States-General in 1789, the Acts which were passed in reference to the Church fell fast and sharp as those of a wood-

man's axe. The first important step was taken on the motion of the Abbé Sieyès, to the effect that the three orders, Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, should meet together and form one National Assembly. A majority of the clergy consented, having indeed little choice in the matter. The Archbishop of Paris, who was one of the dissentients, was attacked by the mob on his way home, followed to his palace, and compelled by threats to promise that he would take his seat in the National Assembly the next day.

On joining with the Third Estate, the clergy and nobles were outnumbered, and carried along in the stream of reform: not altogether unwillingly, for they caught the popular enthusiasm, and many shared in the transitory dream that a new and glorious era had commenced for mankind. A representative of one of the most ancient and proudest families in France, the Vicomte de Noailles, appealed to the members of the privileged classes to resign their feudal rights and take an equal share of the public burdens. His proposal was carried by acclamation; and the privileges which had hitherto exempted the rich from the payment of taxes were swept away at a stroke.



The same night tithes were abolished. A burst of confidence in the good-will which was to spring from equality between class and class bore down all opposition. The misgivings of prudence, the murmurs of prejudice, were alike unheeded; and tithes were declared to be national property, with the concurrence of the leading members of the clergy. "We place ourselves in the hands of the National Assembly," said the Archbishop of Paris, "not doubting that it will secure to us the means of worthily discharging our sacred mission." The Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld added, "These are the sentiments of the whole clergy of France: we confide implicitly in the nation." It was not observed until afterwards that the abolition of tithes was a benefit merely to the landowners, and not to the nation in general.

Vast landed property still remained to the Church; but this also was confiscated, three months later, on the motion of Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun. A resolution was passed that lands as well as tithes should be at the disposal of the State: that two-thirds of the proceeds of the sale of the Church lands should be applied to the maintenance of the clergy, and the remainder to national purposes. This revolutionary

measure was not passed without a long debate. It left the clergy without any settled provision, dependent on the annual vote of the nation for their stipends.

At the same time the monasteries were dissolved. The larger part of those religious houses which were occupied by men, had fallen into decay. The monks were greatly reduced in number, and many of them were tired of the monastic life. But the sisterhoods were still numerous, and active in works of charity. The sisters pleaded, with piteous entreaty, that they might continue to live together, and not be forced to go back to a world which was become strange to them. Their entreaties however were uttered in vain. Not only did the State require their endowments, but the people had a malignant pleasure in suppressing religious institutions.

Here it might have been supposed that the course of Revolution had come to an end, so far as the Church was concerned. Yet this spoliation was only the beginning. The Assembly proceeded in the following year, 1790, to reconstitute the Church on a new plan, in accordance with the civil division of France into departments, superseding the ancient provinces. A document was

drawn up, entitled "The Civil Constitution of the Clergy," by which the limits of dioceses were made to correspond with those of the departments, eighty-three in number. Bishops and clergy were to be elected by the people, subject to confirmation by the metropolitan. Appointments were to be notified to the Pope, but any application for his consent was forbidden. Lastly, an oath of fidelity to the constitution was to be taken by the clergy.

The enactment of this Civil Constitution caused a schism in the Church. It had the immediate consequence of dividing the clergy into two parties, those who took the oath to the Constitution, and those who refused. But before the mischief of this division was seriously felt, jurors and non-jurors were involved together in a common ruin. A whirlwind of religious anarchy passed over France. Atheists celebrated a festival of the Goddess of Reason at the high altar of Notre-Dame; and Deists celebrated a festival of the Supreme Being in the Champ de Mars.

Yet the ordeal through which the Church passed in the Reign of Terror was a purifying fire. When the clergy were stripped of their revenues, the Church was soon rid of the hirelings who had

brought her to dishonour, the arrogant Prince-Bishops, the profane Abbés, the luxurious and covetous pluralists. These emigrated or made open apostacy. But the true shepherds remained to suffer. And in the dark days of persecution it was told, how devoted priests came at the peril of their lives to minister to the dying. Prohibited in the name of liberty to utter the name of Christ, they disguised themselves as laymen, sometimes even as soldiers, in order to whisper in the ears of the sick in hospitals the Saviour's words of consolation, and to administer the last Sacraments.

## X.—THE CONCORDAT.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, early in his career, showed an ambition to tread in the steps of Charlemagne. His first independent command was in Italy; and his victories put him in possession of the same Lombard cities which had been conquered, a thousand years before, by the great King of the Franks. Those cities, as of old, were rich with masterpieces of painting and sculpture, many of which Napoleon carried off to Paris, as Charlemagne had adorned Aix la Chapelle with specimens of the art of the ancient Romans. In this particular the imitation was ill-conceived. That which showed a laudable thirst for knowledge and culture in the half-barbarous conqueror, was open to be censured as a relapse into barbarism in modern times. A more striking point of resemblance was chosen, when, during the same war, Napoleon began to negotiate on amicable terms with the Pope. The treaty of Tolentino, which he concluded with Pius VI., was set aside by the Directory during his absence in Egypt;

but he took the first opportunity after his return to open friendly relations with the new Pope, Pius VII.

The religious sentiments of Napoleon were not much more definite than those of Attila, consisting of little beyond a general belief in himself, as minister of an Omnipotent Providence. But he desired, on grounds of policy, to restore the Church in France; for he saw in religion a strong bond of social order, and judged that the Roman Catholic worship was most in harmony with the sentiments of the French people. After much reflection on the alternatives of establishing a new State Church after the Russian model, or allying himself with the Protestants, now reduced to a very small body in France, he decided on seeking reconciliation with Rome. In 1800, when he became First Consul, the force of aggressive atheism had spent itself, and its gross absurdities excited disgust. Robespierre's blank Deism had become in its turn tedious and unpopular. Nevertheless, the difficulties in the way of a Concordat with the Pope were extreme. The army was prepared to revolt against a chief who showed favour to the clergy. On the other hand, some of the best among the clergy were resolved

to undergo persecution in preference to a compromise.

The question was made more intricate by divisions in the clerical body. The Civil Constitution of the Church, which had been enacted in 1790, had partially come into operation. It was the work of men of Jansenist opinions and others like-minded with them: earnest and pious men, anxious to reconcile the essential principles of Christian faith and morals with the political ideas of the time. But the ancient customs of the Church were quite at variance with this Civil Constitution, which suppressed one-third of the Bishoprics in France, and changed the boundaries of the rest. It was especially repugnant to the See of Rome, whose pretensions it explicitly denied. In obedience to the Papal chair, a large number of the clergy had refused to take the oaths. These non-jurors had attached themselves to the Royalist party, and were distinguished by the heroic courage with which they endured the savage cruelties to which they were subjected. By the Pope they were recognized as the only true and faithful clergy; whereas the Republic recognised none except those who took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution. For a time there

was a public worship approved only by the Republic, simultaneously with a clandestine worship approved only by the Pope. Then had come the fury of the Reign of Terror, in which all forms of Christian worship were proscribed; and the clergy, whether jurors or non-jurors, were involved in one common persecution. But when the persecution ceased, the schism re-appeared; and the death of several of the non-juring Bishops, together with the emigration of others to save their lives, left the loyal members of the Church without regular episcopal superintendence. The vacant Sees were administered by Papal vicars, holding a secret commission from Rome.

Napoleon's scheme dealt successfully with the difficult problem which this state of affairs presented. He obtained from the Pope an amnesty for past ecclesiastical offences; and undertook, on the part of the French Government, to recognise the Roman Catholic religion on the express ground of its being the religion of the majority of the people. Sixty Bishops, to be nominated by the First Consul, and instituted by the Pope, were to form the new hierarchy.

On the first anniversary of his accession to the Consulate, Napoleon attended a solemn *Te Deum*



in the Cathedral of Paris, to celebrate the signature of the Concordat. There were murmurs to be heard during the ceremony ; but most men as well as women breathed more freely, when the disused and desecrated churches were opened anew with the ancient rites. During the interval while public worship was suspended, a magnificent church on the south side of Paris, begun under Louis XV., had been brought to completion, and was dedicated as a Temple to the memory of the great men of France, receiving the name of the Pantheon. The pediment over the lofty portico was filled with statues of men renowned in arms or literature, among whom the figure of Voltaire was conspicuous. A few years after the Concordat, the building was dedicated, according to the original intention, to St. Génévieve, the patron saint of Paris.

While men hesitated how to accept the changed attitude of the State towards religion, a book was published, which fell in with the spirit of the times felicitously, and produced an effect beyond its real merits. This was Chateaubriand's "Genius of Christianity," a rhetorical panegyric on Christ and the Bible, which supplied what the French nation wanted just then, a defence of religion

on philosophical grounds. Devout Christians might easily take exception to the style of the work, severe philosophers might find it wanting in solid substance. But it supplied a valuable connecting-link between the Church and the world. Men of intellect and literary culture, who had no liking for the clergy, and doubted if their doctrines were true, were not displeased to acknowledge, at the invitation of a layman, that Christianity in the abstract was beautiful.

One of the difficulties in the restoration of worship was the observance of Sunday. A new day of rest, the tenth day, had been appointed, in accordance with the decimal system of coinage, weights, and measures. Napoleon let the question solve itself by tolerating both days for a time, retaining meanwhile the revolutionary calendar for official use. Popular preference was shown decisively for the ancient mode of reckoning; and before long the revolutionary calendar was altogether discarded as obsolete. The year was measured again, as of old, from the birth of Christ, and the seasons of the Church were kept again.

On the establishment of the Empire, in 1804, Napoleon requested the presence of the Pope at

his coronation. The precedent of Charlemagne was thus followed to a certain extent. But there were several points of difference, significant of the different relation in which the two sovereigns stood towards the See of Rome. Napoleon's coronation took place, not at Rome, but at Paris. The ceremonial which he thought fit to use showed a deliberate irreverence. When the Pope, after anointing him with oil, and girding him with a sword, took the imperial crown from the altar, Napoleon snatched it from his hands, and crowned himself.

Hollow as was the alliance between the Pope and the Emperor, it served for a time the interests of both. The re-establishment of the Church gave to the newly organized constitution of the Empire a portion of the dignity and sacredness which had invested the monarchy. For the Church also it was no small advantage to be replaced in a position of legal authority, before the deposed clergy had died out, and before a new generation of citizens had grown up without religion. As it was, the anarchy of the last ten years of the eighteenth century had left a deep trace on the national character. In some districts, and in some classes of society, there was already a

repudiation of moral and religious principles, which would have been more extensive, if the same anarchy had lasted much longer.

The power of the clergy, as established by the Concordat, was merely the shadow of what it had formerly been. Napoleon was far too tenacious of power to suffer the clergy or the Pope to interfere with his government. He required that all the education in France should be under teachers who had certificates from a University, as to their efficiency in secular knowledge. The clergy protested in vain against this restriction of their liberty of teaching. Their protest gained little attention amid the absorbing interest of the military successes and reverses of Napoleon's reign. During the Empire, the clergy had more than enough to do to win back the alienated affections of the people, especially in the great cities, by humble discharge of their spiritual functions, and by an example of personal holiness.

On the fall of the Empire in 1814, the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy brought back old men and old ideas to France. The Jesuits, who had continued to exist as a secret society, notwithstanding their official suppression, returned from foreign countries, particularly from Russia

and Prussia. Now, as of old, their power of organization and their personal self-devotion, were exerted to strengthen the Papal See. Again they found opponents in a large party of the royalist clergy who desired to bring back the Gallicanism of Louis XIV. and Bossuet. An attempt was made to alter the relations of the Church with Rome, but the French Parliament adhered substantially to the terms of the Concordat, as settled by Napoleon.

In 1817, Lamennais, a Breton priest of great and original genius, published an essay on Religious Indifference, in which he denounced all compromise in matters of faith, and particularly assailed Gallicanism as a spurious form of Catholicism. A fresh religious impulse was given by Lamennais to his generation, a generation fertile in men of intellectual and imaginative power. The effect of his book in reviving the ultramontane spirit in France was enormous. Pope Leo XII. supposed that Rome had found in him a new Bernard or Dominic, and placed his portrait in his private cabinet, among pictures of the saints. But the genius of Lamennais was too ardent and restless to move along the traditional paths of theology. He conceived the bold idea

of reconciling Papal authority with democratic principles in politics, and so enlisting lovers of freedom in the cause of the Church. "God and Liberty," was the motto which he chose for a journal entitled "L'Avenir." In this journal, published after the Revolution of 1830, his views were eloquently expounded. A brilliant constellation of young men attached themselves to him. Henry Lacordaire, Charles Montalembert, Maurice de Guérin, the artist Besson, the historian Ozanam, the poet Victor Hugo, all felt more or less the charm of his influence, and transmitted it more widely. He became the leader of a school, political and religious; and expatiated, with the confidence of an inspired prophet, on the glories of a coming age of holy freedom.

But the Court of Rome took alarm at these ideas. Already the Jesuits and others had long expressed their mistrust of the course which Lamennais was taking. His paper had only been published during one year, when it was suspended by desire of the Pope. Thereupon Lamennais went to Rome to vindicate his principles, and obtain the removal of the suspension. He was accompanied by the two most devoted of his disciples, Lacordaire and Montalembert. At

Rome he was rather coldly received, and it was after long delay that his application was answered. The Pope's reply was to the effect, that he did justice to the good intentions of Lamennais and his companions, but they treated extremely delicate subjects without due moderation. A Papal Brief was published soon afterwards, in which the liberty of the press was condemned, in terms which implied a censure of the opinions advocated by the writers in "L'Avenir."

Lamennais promised submission, but the fire within him could not be quenched. It was only turned another way by the official discouragement which he received. Unable to refrain from utterance, he wrote in 1834, his "Words of a Believer," which speedily ran through eight editions, and indicated a change of views. He had become less orthodox and more republican. Still endeavouring to keep for his motto "God and Liberty," he had loosened his attachment to the Church which disavowed his opinions. The later years of his life were spent out of the communion of the Church, and in alliance with the extreme republican party. He died in 1854, almost forgotten.

Of the two chief allies of Lamennais, who were

nearly twenty years younger than himself, the career was widely different. Lacordaire took the vows of the Dominican order, and put aside the political ideas of his youth to devote himself with an undivided attention to his religious studies. He became celebrated, not only as the most eloquent of modern preachers, but as one of the holiest of men. The other, Montalembert, accomplished the more difficult task of leading a holy life in the midst of the distractions of the world. He took an active part in politics, and kept before himself thorough many vicissitudes, the principles of his master. His deep piety exposed him to the disdain of worldly politicians. His love of freedom was odious alike to the Papal Court, and to the Imperial Court of France. He held a course in which he sometimes stood alone, supported by the testimony of his own good conscience. There was in his mind a romantic chivalry like that of the knights-errant of the Middle Ages. In a memorable debate in 1841, he contended for liberty of religious education in a speech, the conclusion of which serves well to illustrate the spirit of his whole life.

“In the name of Catholic laymen like myself, Catholics of the nineteenth century, I say we will



not be helots in the midst of a free people. We are the successors of the Martyrs, and we do not tremble before the successors of Julian the Apostate. We are the sons of the Crusaders, and we will never draw back before the sons of Voltaire."

The close of Montalembert's life approaches near to the present day, and touches upon the last great event in the history of the Church in France. He died out of favour with Pius IX, having made a vain protest against the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Being asked what he would do if the dogma were proclaimed, he said, "I will struggle against it as long as I can, as a son struggles against what he thinks the unreasonable demands of a father, though at length he submits."

With Montalembert expired the hope of reconciling modern liberty with Papal Catholicism. Wider and wider grew the breach between the liberal party and the representatives of the Church. Pius IX, disappointed in his early hopes of winning the hearts of the Italian people by generous concessions, threw himself with equal ardour into the hands of the most reactionary of his clergy. He denounced the spirit of the age, and more particularly the liberty of the press, in a series of letters and addresses. Falling back on the old

methods of dogma and sentiment which had served the Church so efficiently in the hands of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, he convened two great councils, and promulgated as Articles of Faith the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and the Infallibility of the Papal Chair. These, which had been held in the Church for centuries as pious opinions, were now for the first time enunciated as doctrines, which it was henceforth heresy to deny. To the last dogma, which contradicts one of the celebrated four Articles of the Gallican Church, the best of the French clergy, such as Archbishop Darboy, submitted with grave misgiving. But the state of public opinion forced them to choose between two extremes, absolute submission, or absolute rejection; and they were impelled to submission by the hostile attitude which the liberal party in France assumed to all revealed religion.

Liberty of speech was restored to France by the fall of the second Empire in 1870. The nation found itself then divided between two great factions, monarchical and republican. The Church had allowed itself to be identified with the former. By the influence of the clergy in elections, and by such unpopular acts as the French expedition to

Rome, to restore the sovereignty of the Pope against the will of the citizens, the Church was compromised; and the clergy were held responsible for the abuses of despotic power, as much under the Empire, as under the Bourbon monarchy. Men who were Republican in politics were for the most part hostile to the clergy, and indifferent if not hostile to the Christian faith.

For the present there seems to be only a dim prospect of any mitigation of the bitter strife between the friends of liberty and the friends of the Church. Yet if the actual state of parties in France be compared with that of a hundred years ago, there are distant gleams of hope. Experience has taught some wisdom to both sides. The clergy, though contracted in mind under the recent measures of the See of Rome, are exemplary in private conduct and in care for their flocks. Their adversaries also have not studied in vain the lessons of the Revolution. They no longer dream of human perfection to be attained by banishing religion out of society.

Within the last few years, aspirations for a return to the old principles of the Universal Church have revived: aspirations for a purer faith in accordance with that of the Apostolic age;

and for a free ecclesiastical constitution, in accordance with the Gallican liberties, which were vindicated by Bossuet, and Gerson, and St. Louis: for the independence of Papal dominion which was asserted by St. Hilary of Arles, and for the independence of secular dominion which was asserted by St. Martin of Tours.

THE END.

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